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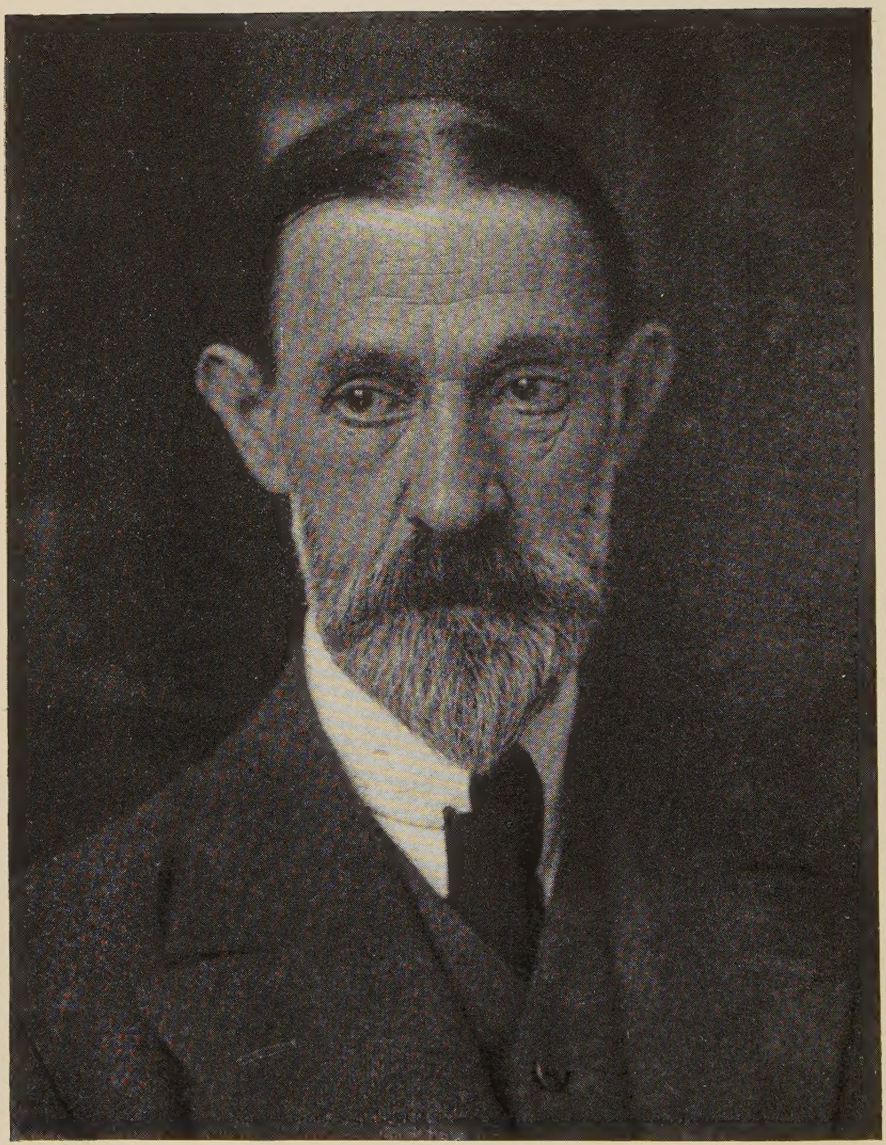

HUBERT HALL, 1857–1944
(at the age of 62)

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

HUBERT HALL, 1857–1944[1]

THE death, on 27 July, 1944, on his 87th birthday, as a consequence of enemy action, of Hubert Hall has deprived the Royal Historical Society of one of its most beloved members, one, too, who had perhaps the largest share in shaping its history. He died from shock, following the explosion of a flying bomb which severely damaged his house at Walderslade, near Chatham.

He was elected on 10 January, 1884; chosen one of the Auditors 17 December, 1885; elected to the Council 19 May, 1887, serving on it till 8 February, 1923. He was appointed Director 19 March, 1891, and held that onerous appointment till 31 October, 1938, acting also as Honorary Secretary from 20 December, 1894 to 21 May, 1903. He became a Vice-President 8 February, 1923, and continued to serve on the Council in that capacity till 10 February, 1927. At the annual meeting following his resignation of the office of Director, 9 February, 1939, he was elected an Honorary Vice-President. It is difficult to speak sufficiently highly of his services to the society. He found it little, if anything, more than a society of *dilettanti*, and left it what it is to-day, a powerful influence for the encouragement of research and for the maintenance of that living interest which is the backbone of sound historical teaching. This change was partly due to Hall's activity in enlisting likely recruits, but very largely also to the amalgamation of the Royal Historical Society with the Camden Society and its acceptance of the duty of regular and systematic publication of sources. For this also Hall was very largely responsible. When on 6 July, 1939, the Society made its summer meeting the occasion of the presentation to him of a congratulatory address from 324 former pupils, colleagues, and friends, it only gave natural expression to its sense of obligation.

Hubert Hall was a son of Richard Foljambe Hall, of Hesley

[1] This note was originally circulated to members of the Royal Historical Society as an appendix to the Report of the Council for the Session 1943–44.

Hall, Notts. (near Doncaster), and Elizabeth Breese Orridge. He was born at Hesley Hall, 27 July, 1857. His grandfather, John Hall, who lived till Hubert was nearly twelve, was agent at Wiseton to the Earl Spencer (better known as Lord Althorp), who died in 1845, and famous as a breeder of shorthorns. Hubert was the younger of the two sons in a family of five. From a preparatory school in Brighton he went to Shrewsbury, where he spent three years, leaving in 1873, a boy with a stronger taste for natural history and country pleasures, so he told us when replying to the Address in 1939, than for mere book-learning, and in this respect, as in his love of fishing, the boy was father of the man. He went then to 'Wren's' to be coached for the Indian Civil Service and ultimately obtained a place in the Home Civil Service (1st Division) on 14 June, 1879. Ten days later he entered the Public Record Office as a Junior Clerk, the title at that time of officers of 'cadet' or 'assistant-principal' rank. He was promoted Senior Clerk, 1 January, 1892, and Assistant-Keeper, 17 July, 1912. On the reorganization of the office (1 April, 1920) this title was changed to Senior Assistant-Keeper, since from that date all the Clerks were to be called Assistant-Keepers. He resigned on 25 August, 1921. He became Resident Officer 10 December, 1891, which involved the obligation of living within a very short distance from the office, and being within reach in case of fire, or of any urgent official business. From 1910 to 1918 he was Secretary to the Royal Commission on Public Records. His work lay, not in the medieval studies in which he took so much interest, but in the inquiries made for government departments into comparatively recent records; and this accident gave him a comprehensive knowledge of widely different classes of documents which he turned to good account later on, and which made him the natural choice for the post of Secretary to the Record Commissioners. His studies of earlier documents were originally more or less of a hobby, for which his post of Resident Officer afforded exceptional opportunity. His appointment as one of the Inspecting Officers under the Act of 1877 (27 October, 1905), had the same effect in enlarging his knowledge of the processes by which records accrue, since it involved conferences with public departments for the purpose of determining what records ought to be preserved, and what might safely be destroyed within a longer or shorter space of time. Much of the value of the three volumes of the *Report* of the Record Commission of 1910–19 is due to the careful statements of the history of the records prepared by Hall, and printed as ap-

pendices to the report. His colleagues in the Public Record Office will remember him as one who helped to maintain the standard of scholarship there at a time when contact with the learned world was infrequent, willingly gave help to his juniors and to all who came to consult the records, and moreover was always ready to encourage them in historical research or to pass on to them opportunities for congenial work.

He must have begun to indulge his own taste for history very early in his official career, for his *History of the Customs Revenue in England* (2 vols.) was published in 1885. *Society in the Elizabethan Age*, containing considerable extracts from the Darrell Papers, followed in 1886, and reached a fourth edition in 1901. *Court Life under the Plantagenets*, based on the famous case of Richard of Anstey, appeared in 1890, and *Antiquities and Curiosities of the Exchequer* in 1891. This last work was a popularisation of the researches part of which are embodied in his *Introduction to the Study of the Pipe Rolls*, issued by the Pipe Roll Society in 1884 as its third volume, and in his introduction to the seventh volume of the same series. He was elected Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1887 with, as may be seen, a considerable body of historical work to his credit.

On the death of Walford Selby, who had begun to edit the Red Book of the Exchequer for the ' Rolls Series ', the task of completing the edition was given to Hall, whose previous work marked him out as the most suitable successor. The book, when it appeared, was reviewed severely, and rather unfairly, by J. H. Round, who had read the proofs, or some of them, and whose mouth should therefore have been closed on the subject. Its shortcomings were partly due to the scheme on which it was originally planned ; and despite faults of detail it owes much to the breadth of Hall's knowledge and his persistent industry.

Hall's later writings are bound up with his career as a teacher. He had done some lecturing for Wren and Gurney between 1884 and 1892, when the addition of a seventh hour to the Civil Service day put an end to this subsidiary employment. But his real service began with the foundation of the London School of Economics, in the planning of which he, with his friends, Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, had a considerable share. He was appointed lecturer on Palæography, Diplomatic, and Economic Sources in 1896 and continued to teach these subjects as a ' reader ' in the University of London in the same school till 1919, when the readership was transferred to King's College. Until 1926 he continued to instruct students in the

understanding and use of historical material, and his valuable editions of *The Receipt Roll of the Exchequer. 31 Henry II* in 1899 and of *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester. 1207–8* in 1903 were by-products of his teaching. To the same category belong *Studies in English Official Historical Documents* (1908) and the useful *Formula Book of English Official Historical Documents* (1908–09), as well as *A Select Bibliography of English Mediaeval Economic History* (1914).

Some of his most valuable work was done in collaboration with other scholars. Thus the Webbs' *English Local Government* owed its firm documentary basis mainly to the generous help given by Hall and to his wide knowledge of official documents, and Sir William Beveridge in his preface to *Prices and Wages in England* has told how his studies of the cyclic variation of wheat prices were assisted by Hall's work on the Winchester Pipe Rolls, and how the two working together were able to supplement and correct the statistics previously compiled from less continuous sources by Thorold Rogers.

The honorary degree of Doctor of Letters conferred on him by the University of Cambridge, 4 December, 1920, was a fitting recognition of a lifetime of strenuous work for the promotion of historical research, and much then still remained for him to do.

British Archives and the Sources for the History of the World War appeared in 1925, and two volumes of *Select Cases on the Law Merchant* were issued by the Selden Society in 1930 and 1932 respectively. Besides these there were numerous articles in the *Quarterly*, *Edinburgh*, and *Contemporary Reviews*. In 1931 and 1932 Hall made a visit to the Huntington Library to advise on the arrangement of British family manuscripts acquired from 1917 to 1928. His unfailing kindness and helpfulness to American historians visiting England had brought him many friends in America, and as long ago as 1908 he had been invited to Harvard to receive an honorary degree, an invitation which he had unhappily been unable to accept.

Of his personal character it is difficult for one who enjoyed his friendship for fifty years to speak dispassionately, while recalling his constant kindness and gentleness, his generous encouragement, and his willingness to help others in historical or economic work. I shall take leave to quote a few words from letters of other old friends. Sir Raymond Beazley writes:

'He was a dear friend of mine from 1894, when I joined the Royal Historical Society—still more from 1896, when (if

I remember right) I was put on the Council. I was one of the many to whom he was guide, philosopher, and friend in the early days of their research.'

And Sir William Beveridge:

'In my long personal contact with Hubert Hall I was impressed on the one hand with his amazing knowledge of all the records of this country, and with the fact that this knowledge so far from weighing him down left him, as I say in my Preface, "with inexhaustible energy for new explorations". I was impressed also with the mingled firmness and gentleness of his character.'

From America, Professor Roger B. Merriman wrote:

'I feel I have a special right to express my deep affection—for it's nothing less than that . . . I shall always think of him as the perfect scholar, with the perfect scholar's genius for helping other scholars.'

Hubert Hall was twice married: first to Edith Robinson (d. 1889), by whom he had a daughter and a son who both predeceased him; secondly, to Winifred Evans, who survives him, as does her son Richard. He was physically of a somewhat delicate appearance, which was belied by his longevity and by the amount of hard work that he succeeded in doing.

His friends will think of him as they knew him in his hospitable Chambers in Lincoln's Inn, or among his apple trees in his garden at Walderslade.

C. J.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Read 10 February 1945

By Professor F. M. Stenton, M.A., D.Litt., Litt.D., F.B.A.

Early English History, 1895–1920

There is always an artificial character about the anniversary of a publication. However original a book or article may be, it never appears out of a void. If its subject is history, it is bound to reflect conclusions reached through previous research, and ideas which are the common property of scholars. It is in a sense the product of its time, and the moment of its appearance is an accident. But for all this, a series of publication-dates provides a rough index to the course of historical inquiry, and it becomes of more than bibliographical interest when it shows a number of independent but related lines of research brought to their conclusion within a single year. It is, no doubt, easy to exaggerate the significance of such dates, but the end of one set of investigations is commonly the beginning of another, and each of these fortunate years is in fact a cardinal point in the chronology of historical writing. By those whose interests lie in early English history it should certainly be reckoned a fortunate year which produced, exactly half a century ago, *The Crawford Collection of early Charters and Documents* edited by A. S. Napier and W. H. Stevenson, *The History of English Law* by F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland, and *Feudal England* by J. H. Round.

It should be added that from this standpoint the eighteen-nineties may fairly be considered a fortunate decade. Within the field of early English history, few periods of equal length have been so fertile in work of lasting authority. It was a time in which many scholars of the first rank were at the height of their powers, and, as it happened, were free to apply them without serious distraction to the business of research. The existing machinery of publication was fully equal to the demands that were made upon it. Although the Rolls Series ended in 1896, there were university presses in England and academies abroad willing to undertake what the Government had left undone. For the technical studies which are the foundation of medieval history a new means of publicity had been created in 1886 by the foundation of the *English Historical Review*. Much of the best work of Round and Stevenson appeared in the *Review*. Younger medievalists were soon

anxious to avail themselves of its hospitality and some of them are still grateful for the discipline imposed on them by R. L. Poole, who carried the editorial responsibility for this side of the *Review* from its beginning.

But the outstanding feature of the 'nineties was the large amount of finished work published by scholars of established position. Maitland's *Domesday Book and Beyond* appeared in 1897, his *Township and Borough* in the following year. Round published his *Geoffrey de Mandeville* in 1892. His *Calendar of documents preserved in France*, incorporating the results of many visits to French archives, was issued by the Treasury in 1899. In 1892, the year of *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, Vinogradoff, whose first publications belong to the 'seventies, displayed a new method of investigation into English social history in *Villainage in England*. In a different field, the major work of Plummer on Anglo-Saxon history all falls within this period. The two volumes of his great edition of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* appeared in 1896. His revised text of Earle's *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel* was published in 1892. His notes, and an introduction containing the first systematic attempt to trace the development of the *Chronicle*, followed in 1899. The interest of continental scholars in the materials for early English history was shown by Mommsen's edition of *Gildas* and *Nennius*, published in 1894, by Zimmer's *Nennius Vindicatus* (1893) and, more influentially, by the series of studies which Liebermann was devoting at this time to the law-books of the Anglo-Norman age. It was not until 1903 that Liebermann completed the first volume of his monumental *Gesetze*, but the preliminary essays in which he demonstrated the blending of English law and Norman customs—his most original achievement—nearly all appeared between 1891 and 1900. Liebermann had previously spent many years on the materials for English narrative history, and the closely printed tract *Ueber ostenglische Geschichtsquellen*, which he published in 1892, is a landmark in English historiography.

Round, Maitland, Vinogradoff, Plummer and Liebermann were all scholars of the centre. The problems with which they concerned themselves were directly related to the main substance of history. To this, and to the remarkable breadth of view with which they approached the technicalities of research is chiefly due the singular fact that after fifty years, or more, their books to-day are continually in the student's hand. Work on the scale which they attempted has always invited criticism, and it may be admitted that an appreciable part of their massive output has now been superseded. But

the discussion and occasional controversy to which their books have given rise are a tribute to their range and to the spirit in which the greater of them were written. No scholar has ever realised more clearly than Maitland that there are fields within which historical knowledge can only advance by the method of trial and error.

Some of the work of this great age had itself a controversial air. Round was known through his repeated attacks on Freeman to a public which cared nothing for his reconstruction of the Old English system of assessment, or his proof that tenure by knight-service was a Norman innovation. The discussion of manorial origins by Maitland and Vinogradoff was largely directed against Seebohm's argument for continuity between the Roman *villa* and the Anglo-Saxon village. But in general the temper of this group of scholars was conservative, and each of them was meticulously careful to relate his own work to that of his predecessors. Vinogradoff prefaced *Villainage in England* with a survey of a type then rare in England, tracing the previous development of opinion on the agrarian background of English history. Round, in the act of demolishing a considerable section of the *Constitutional History*, reiterates his admiration for the scholarship of Dr. Stubbs. Liebermann dedicated the first volume of the *Gesetze* to Konrad von Maurer 'der Altmeister der Germanischen Rechtsgeschichte'. Maitland declared that one main purpose of *Domesday Book and Beyond* was to show 'how we can . . . abandon as little as may be of what we learnt from Dr. Konrad von Maurer and Dr. Stubbs'. The scholars of the 'nineties came to the study of history by many different paths, and it would be most inaccurate to describe them as forming a school, even in the vaguest sense of that overworked word. But they were at least united in gratitude to the learning of the previous generation.

The names which most readily come to mind when the work of this generation is considered are those of Stubbs, Freeman and Green. There has been nothing in English historical writing comparable to the influence of these three scholars. Differing widely from one another in character, powers and interests, they were associated during a considerable period of intense activity and the diversity of their gifts greatly increased the total effect of their work. Green, the least eminent in research, by his enthusiasm for the subject and the charm of his writing, brought the early history of England within the consciousness of the general reader. Freeman, by sheer energy of narrative, impressed on the history of

the Norman Conquest canons of interpretation against which a modern writer can only react with effort. Stubbs, in the fullness of his powers, combined a mastery of varied knowledge which has never been surpassed by any English historian with a power of synthesis which few have equalled. The most prolific years of their informal partnership fell between 1865 and 1880, when Freeman produced his *Norman Conquest*; Green, both his *History* and his *Short History of the English people*; and Stubbs his *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, the bulk of his editorial work on narrative sources, and his *Constitutional History*. The later books of these historians, though important, are less widely significant than the work of the time before 1880. Green published *The Making of England* in 1881, but the completion of its sequel, *The Conquest of England*, was interrupted by his death in 1883. Freeman published his *Reign of William Rufus* in 1882, but in his later years his main interest was his *History of Sicily*, itself unfinished when he died in 1892. Stubbs accepted the bishopric of Chester in 1884. He survived until 1901, but his last major contribution to English history was the edition of William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum* which he completed in 1889.

From all this work there emerged a conception of Old English history which was consistent in itself and in keeping with the political thought of the time. In origin, and in essential features which were discernible to the end, Anglo-Saxon England was a land of village communities composed of peasants who were free and responsible members of society. Its customs, laws, and institutions were Germanic, drawing nothing of vital significance from either British or Roman antecedents. The peasant, who was the basis of society, possessed a holding large enough to support him in economic independence and to provide a substantial contribution towards the rent in kind which his community paid to the local king or other ruler. He was associated with others of his kind in the regulation of the common fields of his village and in the administration of justice in popular courts. He was, in fact, a member of a rustic democracy, and although as generations passed, his independence was curtailed by subjection to lords placed over him by the king, and by the economic consequences of innumerable wars, he carried into the Norman age traditions of freedom which gave a distinctive character to the medieval English state.

In dealing with politics, as with society, the scholars of this generation emphasised the freedom of the individual.

They were compelled to recognise the development of private lordship and the over-riding authority of the king. But to them the king in the exercise of his power was narrowly restricted by the existence of a Council—the *witena gemot* of Anglo-Saxon documents—which had an existence independent of the king himself and without which no king could take any major decision. The Council, in their opinion, was a large body, and Freeman, in particular, believed that there was a popular element in its composition. In any case, it was held that the Council was at liberty to speak its mind against the king's declared opinion, and that in the formation of its mind every member was free to make his own contribution. It is not unfair to say that the history of the *witena gemot* put forward in this age was at least coloured by the example of the parliamentary institutions which all these historians admired. Freeman was even prepared to attribute modern procedure to the feudal assemblies which William the Conqueror summoned in Normandy. Of a speech supposed to have been made by William fitz Osbern in a council at Lillebonne he wrote:—

> 'It was not likely that any persuasion could have brought the Assembly as a body to agree to the lavish offer of voluntary service which was put into its mouth by William Fitz-Osbern. There was no hope of carrying any such vote on a formal division. But the confusion which followed the speech of the Seneschal hindered any formal division from being taken. The Assembly, in short, as an assembly, was broken up.' [1]

Neither Stubbs nor Green ever allowed himself an anachronism like this, but, like Freeman, each of them believed in a primitive constitutionalism which survived the Norman Conquest itself and after a time of suppression under autocratic foreign kings, re-appeared in the medieval English parliament.

No general scheme of related ideas which has satisfied a generation of great historians has ever been wholly destroyed by subsequent research. The pattern of early English history accepted by most modern students owes much to the work of Freeman, Stubbs and Green. The independence of the primitive *ceorl* has often been challenged since their day, but no challenger has yet explained away the facts which are on record about his condition. Recent work on the structure of English society, and in particular the results of place-name studies, have strengthened rather than weakened the case for the Germanic origin of English social institutions. The political importance of the *witena gemot* was certainly exagger-

[1] *Norman Conquest*, iii, 298

ated by the historians of the 'seventies, but it can only be reduced to insignificance by ignoring a copious body of varied evidence. What the modern critic feels when considering the work of Freeman, Stubbs and Green is not that these historians were misled by a false theory of social and institutional development, but rather that they idealised and over-simplified the history with which they were dealing. Many readers who do not wish to be critics have felt that there were subjects vital for the understanding of Old English history with which these historians never attempted to deal. They were, for example, singularly incurious about the internal history of the Old English monastic order. It was one of their principal achievements to deliver the memory of St. Dunstan from the grotesque stories which had gathered around it. Yet Stubbs, who was himself an agent in this deliverance, wrote about the monasticism of Dunstan's century in a manner which produced the austere judgment of a later writer ' that in regard to the more purely religious side of history, as it did not attract his sympathies so he did not really take the pains necessary to understand it.[1] Stubbs' attitude is intelligible, for it is only within the last half-century that the progress of research has compelled historians to recognise the influence of the movement which Dunstan led on English religion, learning, and culture. But the truth remains that one of the primary factors which determined the character of the national life was absent from the conception of late Old English history which Stubbs and his contemporaries transmitted to the next generation.

It was inevitable that the scholars of the next thirty years should turn to the criticism of the evidence on which the great reconstruction of the 'seventies had been founded. It is true that all the historians of this age had felt the inadequacy of their materials. Stubbs, in particular, who was a great editor of pre-Conquest records, had no illusions about their evidential quality. Even so, the firmness with which these historians drew the main lines of argument and narrative would have been impossible if they had fully realised the vagueness of their authorities at crucial points. Green, for example, traced the outlines of Anglo-Saxon history with an assurance that carried conviction in his time. But neither he nor any of his friends worked out the technical chronology of the period, and it was not until the very end of the century that a serious attack was made on the fundamental problem of the date at which the year was considered to begin by the authorities for the facts of narrative history. W. H. Stevenson was uneasy

[1] F. A. Gasquet and E. Bishop, *The Bosworth Psalter*, p. 127.

about the discrepancy between the dates recorded by the Alfredian Chronicle and by contemporary foreign writers. But the explanation which he proposed, that the ninth-century annalistic year began on 25 March preceding Christmas, raised more difficulties than it solved. The solution now accepted, that the new year began at the change of the indiction-number in September, was first proposed by Alfred Anscombe in a letter to the *Athenæum* dated 22 September 1900, and was developed convincingly by M. L. R. Beaven in the *English Historical Review* for July 1918. The result has been to provide the historian of this period with a chronological scheme free from any serious ambiguity, with less fortunate result that a number of significant events must now be placed a year earlier than the dates assigned to them by previous historians. It is important for literary as well as for political history that the death of King Alfred, formerly referred to 900, if not to 901, can now be assigned with confidence to 26 October 899.

In regard to the central materials for early English history, the research proceeding at the turn of the century was work of clarification rather than discovery. No new source of first-rate importance for the sequence of events has appeared since 1823, when Ingram incorporated the versions of the *Chronicle* known as C and D into his edition of that work. Nevertheless, the analysis of the *Chronicle* and the illustration of Bede carried out by Plummer began a series of editions and studies which provided better texts for some of the fundamental authorities for Anglo-Saxon history, and have placed others for the first time in an intelligible relationship to the learning of their own age. At the present time, the Chronicle of Æthelweard is the only major source of information about the period which has not been subjected to critical examination. In all this field, the outstanding event was the appearance in 1904 of Stevenson's edition of Asser's *Life of King Alfred*. In regard to every aspect of the king's reign, except its technical chronology, this work provided a new point of departure. For the first time, the charter evidence bearing on a primary narrative was used to full effect. The setting of Asser's curious work was illustrated from continental biographies produced in the same century. His peculiarities of vocabulary were explained by parallels drawn from Celtic or Frankish sources, and the relationship of the *Life* to the *Chronicle* was traced in minute detail. What Stevenson called 'the unpleasant task of examining the charges brought against the work' was carried through with the zest of a seventeenth-century controversialist,

and the *Life*, purged at last from the spurious insertions of previous editors, was proved to be a genuine memorial of the age of Alfred. It would be difficult to over-estimate the service to history that was rendered by this conclusive rehabilitation of one of the cardinal authorities for the central years of the Old English period.

In the study of the documentary materials for this period, no single work has the same pre-eminence as Stevenson's edition of Asser. Nevertheless, it was in the twenty years after 1890 that the diplomatic criticism of charters was for the first time developed in England and applied to the purposes of general history. The historians of the 'seventies had searched these records for biographical information and for passages bearing on constitutional problems. But the criticism by which their authenticity was tested was superficial, and the intrinsic interest of this great mass of record-evidence was not realised. The principles of modern diplomatic study were first set out systematically in Bresslau's *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien*, of which Volume i was published in 1889. The first scholar to apply these methods to English charters was Stevenson, and the first English book which displayed their value was Napier and Stevenson's edition of the *Crawford Charters* in 1895. No general textbook of the diplomatic of English charters has yet been written, and a modern student is still obliged to work out his own scheme of formulas for himself. It is particularly unfortunate that Stevenson's Cambridge lectures on the Old English Chancery given, as Mr. Poole used to relate, to an audience of three—himself, Miss Mary Bateson, and Professor Maitland—were never made available to a wider public. Nevertheless, the new methods were firmly established by Stevenson's continued demonstration of their significance, and they have freed the historian attempting charter-criticism from dependence upon the subjective judgments of J. M. Kemble and the scholars who followed him.

In regard to substantive history, there was proceeding in these same years a shifting of emphasis of which the outcome can hardly yet be fully seen. The first signs of this change appear in relation to the complex of social understandings which are conveniently brought together under the name of feudalism. Neither Stubbs nor any of his contemporaries dealt sympathetically with the feudal order of society. It is hardly too much to say that feudalism, to them, was a disease of the body politic, or at least, an interruption in the normal development of the English political organism. Their conviction of an

essential continuity between the primitive institutions of the English people and the constitutionalism which they attributed to the high middle ages, prevented them from regarding the alien feudal system as in itself a reasonable form of public order. It is significant that not a single text written from the feudal standpoint was included by Stubbs in his *Select Charters and other illustrations of English Constitutional History*. This tendency, natural in itself, was strengthened by the fact that many of the materials which reveal something of the feudal order from within were still available, at best, in limited editions, and by the obscurity of the compilations, such as the *Leges Henrici Primi*, in which Anglo-Norman lawyers attempted to reconcile feudal practice with Anglo-Saxon law. A new evaluation of English feudalism first became possible through the almost simultaneous work of Liebermann and Round. Neither of these scholars attempted any detailed picture of English feudalism, even in its earliest phases. But they revealed the feudal structure of society, emphasised its dependence upon the crown, and—Round directly, and Liebermann by implication—showed that its essential features were the result of foreign conquest and not of organic evolution.

In the meantime, independent lines of research, chiefly prosecuted by foreign scholars, were gradually displaying the complexity of the society which the Normans overthrew. The Scandinavian influence upon English history had never fallen entirely out of sight. Its marks were written clearly upon the surface of the map. But it counted for remarkably little in the reconstruction of Old English history that was attempted in the 'seventies. The book which first displayed the main points of contact between English and Scandinavian custom was the fourth part of Steenstrup's *Normannerne*, published in 1882. It was written in Danish, and English historians were slow to appreciate its importance. In 1883, for example, Stubbs wrote to Mr. Alexander Macmillan:—

> Steenstrup has worked hard at a portion of Green's subject (*The Conquest of England*), and, having come to some conclusions different from Green's, has published them in an unknown tongue. I should not think, from what I gather from his notes, that his criticisms much affect the value of Johnny's book as touching English History; and as for the incidental points of difference on Scandinavian history, I do not at all see that Johnny's divarications, even if they are erroneous, would deserve very severe handling, considering that they are only faulty as not being abreast with Steenstrup's as yet unknown lucubrations.[1]

[1] *Letters of William Stubbs* (ed. W. H. Hutton), p. 189.

Like all pioneers, Steenstrup often over-strained his evidence, and his work cannot be taken as in any sense a balanced survey of the ground he covered. But it is no less certain that the facts to which he drew attention affected the whole tenor of the last two centuries of Old English history and that his main conclusions have been confirmed at most essential points.

No subsequent book published in this field has had an effect comparable with that of *Feudal England* in the sphere of feudal studies. The demonstration of the Scandinavian strain in early English society has been brought about through a long series of detailed studies on a variety of documents, legal, historical and literary. Even now the process is by no means complete. Stevenson was the first English historian to realise the significance of the facts collected by Steenstrup. His own researches, through which he made material additions to Steenstrup's evidence, were expressed in a series of articles which have never yet been collected, and his investigations into English personal names of Scandinavian origin never advanced beyond the stage of unprinted notes. A detailed study of the Scandinavian element in the English vocabulary was first made possible by Bradley's edition of Stratmann's *Middle English Dictionary*, published in 1891, and no systematic discussion of this element appeared before 1900, when Erik Björkman published his *Scandinavian Loan-words in Middle English*. Ten years later Björkman published a similar discussion of the Scandinavian element in English personal nomenclature under the title *Nordische Personennamen in England*.[1] Although innumerable additions have since been made to Björkman's collections in each of these fields, it may fairly be claimed for him that he did more than any other scholar to demonstrate the volume of the Scandinavian material embedded in English authorities. In the meantime, Liebermann, with a technique more precise than that of Steenstrup, was analysing the Scandinavian element in the body of Old English Law, and the Glossary to his edition of the *Gesetze*, published in 1912, demonstrated at once its range and its importance. Vinogradoff, in *The Growth of the Manor* (1905) and *English Society in the Eleventh Century* (1908), called attention to many peculiarities of English legal and agrarian practice which can only be explained by reference to Scandinavian parallels. The implications of all this work have since been confirmed by the systematic study of English place-names which has brought out, with unanticipated clearness, the intensity of the Scandinavian settlement of the Northern

[1] Followed in 1912 by a supplement entitled *Zur englischen Namenkunde*.

English Danelaw. Whatever judgment may ultimately be passed on all this body of research, it has at least shown that Old English history can no longer be interpreted in English terms alone.

Evidence of another kind has shown that the early phases of this history cannot be understood without reference to a background which is essentially prehistoric. The society reflected in Old English heroic poetry, and in particular the fundamental importance of the tie between the king and his retainers, received less attention than was their due from the great Victorian historians. The poetry itself had long been familiar, and Kemble in particular had drawn extensively upon it for illustration and argument. But the aristocratic substance of this poetry could not easily be worked into a picture in which the communal life of peasants was the central feature, and the emphasis laid in this ancient verse on kingship clashed with the accepted derivation of English institutions from a primitive form of constitutional government. It was not until the present century that a systematic attempt was made to study the facts of recorded English history in the light of the information supplied by English heroic verse. If a date had to be chosen for the full reception of this evidence by English historians, it would be hard to find a year more suitable than 1907, when Professor Chadwick published his *Origin of the English Nation*. From that time onwards, though opinions have differed on this or that point of detail, there has never been any doubt that in their fundamental conceptions of kingship, allegiance, and nobility, the English people formed part of the common Germanic world. The history of English institutions can no longer begin with the migration of the English peoples to Britain.

In 1907 the archæological remains of this period, now universally recognised as primary materials for its history, were still outside the perspective of the general historian. A great store of this material had been accumulated during the nineteenth century, and some of it had been studied intensively. But the conditions under which this had been published made it difficult for historians, even if they were so minded, to appreciate its significance. The series of articles on Anglo-Saxon antiquities which Mr. R. A. Smith contributed to the *Victoria History of the Counties of England* from 1900 onwards revealed the broad outlines of the distribution of this material. But as late as 1904 Haverfield, writing of post-Roman Britain, was content with the cautious statement, ' It may be that when archæologists have at last scientifically

studied the chronology of English fibulæ and burials the historian may learn from their conclusions another fragment of history.'[1] The importance of this evidence was first brought convincingly to the notice of English historians by Mr. E. Thurlow Leeds, whose *Archæology of the Anglo-Saxon settlements*, published in 1913, marks a turning point in the study not only of Anglo-Saxon culture, but of the early phases of Anglo-Saxon history. It compelled historians to re-consider the chronology of the Anglo-Saxon conquest, the course taken by the invaders, and the accepted division of the Anglo-Saxon peoples into Angles, Saxons and Jutes. During the past thirty years, every writer who has attempted a serious reconstruction of Old English history has been required to form an opinion about its archæological setting. The new material has raised new problems of its own. But there can be no question of the historian's debt to the archæologist for the broadening of his study, for the new colour which archæology has given to his conception of early English life, and, it may be added, for the compulsion to re-assess the value of the written evidence which represents the traditions of early English courts.

The investigation of place-names which was proceeding simultaneously with the modern development of Old English archæology has never offered so direct a challenge to earlier conceptions of Old English history. It was the latest subsidiary science to be placed at the historian's service, and many of its most interesting results fall outside the period covered by this paper. The fundamental methods of place-name study were shown forty years ago in isolated interpretations of interesting names by Henry Bradley and W. H. Stevenson, but the approach to the subject by a series of county surveys belongs entirely to the present century. The first example of such work was set by W. W. Skeat in his *Place-names of Cambridgeshire* (1901). By 1920, when Allen Mawer published his *Place-names of Northumberland and Durham*, the possibilities of the method had been thoroughly explored, and the way was clear for further work of a more intensive character on individual counties, and for the production of separate studies on individual problems. In work of this latter class, the chief example to be published before 1920 was Ekwall's monograph entitled *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England* (1918). It is characteristic of the general drift of place-name studies that the outcome of this book, which proved the strength of Norse-Gaelic influence in north-western

[1] *English Historical Review*, xix, 631.

England, was to confirm and not to contradict conclusions which historians had already drawn from their own proper materials. The study is still advancing, it has given rise to controversy of the sort which shows that a subject is alive, and it is continuing to attract new workers. Whatever estimate may be formed of its value for the reconstruction of social history, its concrete achievements are already beyond dispute. It has produced new and direct evidence bearing on the racial composition of the English people and it has done much to provide an accurate setting for the Old English historical scene.

The conception of early English history which has emerged from all this work is vague at many points, and, as yet, ill-balanced. It may never come to the firmness of outline and precision of detail which have been achieved for most periods of the authentic Middle Ages. But it is already plain that Old English history is something of greater interest than a prelude to the more vivid tale of later centuries. It has been a main result of recent work to show that the national experience of which this history is the record was at once more varied and more significant than was apparent, even to the greatest historians of an earlier age. For fifty years, the content of early English history has increased in range and interest with each successive decade of research. The end of this enlargement is not yet.

THE COMMONS AND MEDIEVAL POLITICS

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Some apology may seem necessary for a brief paper that covers nearly three centuries, but, unless we take long views, we are unlikely to get into focus the problem before us, namely, the extent to which the commons participated in medieval politics and the manner in which they did so. Bishop Stubbs, you will remember, found this a matter of particular difficulty. The part played by the commons in relation to taxation and legislation seemed plain enough. But political power, the 'right of general deliberation on all national matters, is too vague in its extent', he thought, 'to be capable of being chronologically defined; nor was it really vindicated by the parliament until a much later period than' the reign of Edward I, with which he was then concerned.[1] Elsewhere, Stubbs seems to have committed himself to the view that the commons took part in politics in the fifteenth century, although the distinction he formerly drew between politics and legislation he no longer maintained.[2] Quite clearly we cannot consistently maintain a distinction between politics and legislation or politics and finance. 'The right of deliberation on all national matters', in Stubbs's phrase, may express itself in the acceptance or refusal of legislative or of financial proposals. But if there are certain national matters from the discussion of which one or other of the 'estates' is in practice excluded, then it is reasonable to say that, to that extent, they take no part in politics. To suggest an obvious example: the assent of the lower clergy was necessary to the taxation to which they were subjected; they took no part in general legislation; and they certainly did not exercise the right of deliberation on all national matters. Their participation in politics was therefore of the slightest.

Now while, with Stubbs, we may agree that the commons took no part in politics until long after the reign of Edward I, it is as well to cast our minds back to an earlier period in order that we may have clearly before us the position occupied by the baronage in parliament, since this largely determined the part played by the commons. Let us therefore take our stand in the year 1258 and look, for a moment, backwards and forwards. Before that year we can discern intermittent and

[1] *Select Charters* (8th ed.), p. 46

[2] *Constitutional History* (5th ed.), iii. 267–8.

exceptional afforced sessions of the king's court, which gradually assume the aspect and name of parliament, but behind these meetings we can perceive no regular pattern, no distinctive organisation.[1] Bracton, whose treatise assumed its final shape a year or two before the parliament of Oxford, does not use that word. He has no other name for the tribunal in which the baronage sit than *curia regis*, though it is clear from his scattered references that the errors even of the king may be corrected before such an afforced tribunal and that there are reserved for decision at such meetings proposals for changes in the law. But if we had Bracton's treatise only before us, we should have no distinct picture of a superior court and might well conclude that the machinery for effecting changes in the law or for remedying injustice was uncertain and imperfect.[2]

[1] Richardson, 'The Origins of Parliament,' *ante*, 4th Series, xi. 153–5.

[2] Bracton's general position regarding changes in the law is stated in his commentary on the coronation oath at fo. 107 and in his discussion of the several kinds of writ at fo. 413*b*. His rather ambiguous statement at fo. 1*b* must be read in the light of these passages. His position regarding the correction of injustice done by the king has excited controversy, largely because the most forceful statement is to be found in the 'addicio de cartis' at fo. 34. Although I see no reason for rejecting this *addicio* as non-Bractonian, it is unnecessary to rely upon it, for he adopts the same position at fo. 171*b*, where he deals with disseisin. At fo. 5*b*, he explains that a writ will not run against the king but that there is an alternative remedy, the petition of right, and we know from the records that this procedure was fully developed by 1270 (Richardson and Sayles, *Select Cases of Procedure without Writ*, pp. lxx, clxxxvi f.). Here, however, Bracton puts the point 'What if the king will not correct and amend his wrongful act?' and he answers that God will avenge the wrong. At fo. 171*b* he repeats almost *verbatim* what is said at fo. 5*b*, but he adds 'nisi sit qui dicat quod universitas regni et baronagium suum hoc facere possit et debeat in curia ipsius regis'. This is saying in measured language what is put more picturesquely in the 'addicio de cartis', namely, 'Rex habet superiorem, Deum scilicet, item legem . . . , item curiam suam, videlicet comites et barones . . . Et ideo, si rex fuerit sine freno, id est sine lege, debent ei frenum apponere . . .' It does not, however, seem to be to a court composed of earls and barons that Bracton considers obscure and difficult cases should be referred, but to the *magna curia* (fo. 1*b*). From his other references to the *magna curia* (fo. 105*b*, 186, 330*b*, 332–3, 379*b*), it would seem clear that the 'great court' is the bench, a name it had had since the twelfth century (Richardson and Sayles, *op. cit.*, p. xv: cf. *Fleta*, lib. iv, c. 9, where the author substitutes 'ad bancum' for Bracton's 'ad magnam curiam'). Presumably what Bracton chiefly has in mind are decisions on assizes coming before justices itinerant, who are, in effect, advised to leave difficult decisions to a more competent tribunal. He pictures the bench at Westminster acting as it had done before the emergence of the king's bench. The procedure is well illustrated by a roll relating to the Yorkshire eyre of 1218–19 printed by Mrs. Stenton (*Rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire in 3 Henry III* (Selden Soc.), pp. 390–428). The *magna curia* at this period might be afforced by members of the council, who were not ordinarily employed on judicial work, and by magnates also (*ibid.*, pp. 137, 414; *Curia Regis Rolls*, viii. 11). Whether this was still possible in Bracton's day is a question that awaits investigation. He is, however, contrasting, and not coupling, the jurisdiction of the bench in such cases with the amendment and repeal of laws which, he says, cannot be effected 'sine communi consensu eorum omnium quorum consilio et consensu fuerint promulgate' (fo. 1*b*).

In the year 1258, however, parliament takes definite form, and henceforward we have to do with an institution of a distinctive kind, which will evolve and suffer setbacks and some interruptions, but which will have a legible and continuous history.

If we look across the Channel we shall see, at much the same period, a similar development and it would seem evident that the measures taken in England and France were related, to some extent, perhaps, by conscious imitation, to some extent because the two countries shared a common civilisation, a common heritage of political ideas. It is not, however, the likeness of the French and English parliaments that I would stress—though it is important to remember both that the three sessions a year prescribed at Oxford in 1258 and the two sessions a year of the early part of the reign of Edward I were matched by the three or four sessions a year of the parliament of St. Louis and the two or three sessions a year of the parliament under Philippe le Hardi and in the early years of Philippe le Bel,[1] and also that the functions of parliament, in England and France alike, were, in large part, judicial.[2] For our present purpose there are certain characteristics of the English parliament that deserve especial attention. The Provisions of Oxford not only prescribed three sessions of parliament a year, but they laid down certain minimum requirements for attendance at each session. It is assumed that the council, in the narrow sense of the word, will be present, that is, the committee of fifteen representative barons (including bishops) who were continuously in office, together with the leading ministers. Beyond these councillors, as we may perhaps call them, not more than twelve representative barons need attend. These are, it is true, the minimum requirements, and it is evident that, on occasion, the attendance at parliament was more numerous,[3] but there is no idea that a session of parliament would be in any way imperfect because there was no general summons of the baronage nor, what is of especial importance, because no representatives of counties and boroughs were present.

The Provisions of Oxford recognised and, in this particular, were founded upon the right and duty of the baronage to share the government of the country with the king. The Provisions too were founded upon a petition of the barons for the redress of grievances, and so illustrate another important truth, that the barons, as a body, had the right to petition the king on matters

[1] Langlois, *Textes relatifs à l'histoire du Parlement*, pp. 229–34; Ducoudray' *Les origines du Parlement de Paris*, pp. 50–5.

[2] Richardson, 'The Origins of Parliament', *ante*, 4th Series, xi. 153–62.

[3] Richardson and Sayles, *The Provisions of Oxford* (reprinted from *Bulletin John Rylands Library*, vol. xvii), pp. 8–12.

of common interest. The two correlative principles, the sharing by the baronage of the burden of government and their right to petition, are so well established in practice and in English legal literature of the thirteenth century that they must be regarded as beyond dispute.[1] On the other hand, there is no indication, either in theory or practice, that the communities of counties or of boroughs were conceived as having the same or any similar rights or duties. The distinction between the political status of the barons and that of the rest of the community could not be more forcibly expressed than in the well-known words of Bracton:

> The king has a superior, namely God, as also the law, by which he is made king, and his court, to wit the earls and barons . . . And therefore if the king is unbridled, that is without law, they

[1] References to baronial petitions are given later. An early statement of the right of the barons to a share in the government is to be found in the expanded version of the Laws of Edward the Confessor which may be dated c. 1200 and may be as early as the reign of Richard I. It is here said that the king 'debet iudicium rectum in regno facere et iustitiam per consilium procerum regni sui tenere' (Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, i. 636). This portion of the Laws of the Confessor underlies Bracton's discussion of the coronation oath, where therefore a like principle is stated (fo. 107): but he says independently much the same thing elsewhere, when he explains that writs 'of course' granted and approved 'de consilio totius regni' cannot be modified 'absque consensu eorundem et voluntate' (fo. 413*b*). Grosseteste had previously used words to the same effect, when he said that he was not so simple as to think that laws could be made or altered 'sine principis et magnatum consilio' (*Epistolae*, p. 96): he also cites the authority of the king and his council for the statement that the archbishop of Canterbury, with the bishops, earls and barons of England, had agreed to the form of enquiry to be made of bishops when bastardy was alleged (*ibid.*, p. 104). When we turn to the records we may often learn no more than that something has been done 'by common council', but there are sufficient instances to show that what is meant is the council of the magnates. Thus, at Easter, 1204, the assize of bread at Winchester was made by the king 'communi consilio baronum nostrorum' (*Rot. Litt. Pat.*, p. 41). A decision to allocate the king's galleys among various ports was similarly taken, in April 1205, 'communi consilio baronum nostrorum' (*ibid.*, p. 52*b*). On the same occasion, it would seem, the decision that every nine knights should provide a tenth knight for the king's service was taken 'cum assensu archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, comitum, baronum et omnium fidelium nostrorum' (*ibid.*, p. 55). In 1223 Henry III writes: 'Cum nuper post festum Pentecostes venerabiles patres nostros archiepiscopos et episcopos, abbates ac omnes magnates totius regni nostri vocassemus ut nobis occurrerent apud Northamton' daturi nobis ibidem consilium et auxilium facturi ad defensionem terre nostre in Pictavia . . .' (Shirley, *Royal Letters*, i. 224). Again, on 1 June 1233, it is stated that the order relating to the conservation of the peace 'provisum fuit coram nobis et magnatibus nostris de communi consilio eorum' (*Foedera*, i. 209; *Close Rolls*, 1231–34, pp. 309–10). Shortly afterwards this is called 'provisio nuper facta apud Glouc' de communi consilio barnagii nostri' (*ibid.*, p. 317). There is a similar reference on 4 August following to a 'provisio nuper facta de communi consilio barnagii regis apud Oxoniam', requiring the arrest of armed men on the roads and forbidding tournaments, which was apparently a supplementary ordinance (*ibid.*, p. 318). These illustrations will suffice to indicate the extent to which the barons were consulted.

> ought to put a bridle upon him, unless they themselves are unbridled together with the king. And in that case the subject people will cry out and say 'Lord Jesus, with bit and bridle bind fast their jaws.' [1]

This idea was in no sense peculiar to Bracton. Its practical outcome is seen in the council of Twenty-five set up by Magna Carta in 1215, in the devices for baronial control in the period from 1258 to 1265 and in 1316 and 1318 and again under Richard II.

But though the principle of baronial control as enunciated at Runnymede was still invoked at the end of the fourteenth century, a great and fundamental change in the constitutional position of the baronage had taken place in the interval of nearly two centuries. The baronage had not only made good in practice their claim to control an evil king; they had climbed into power and sat perpetually and without question beside the king. This truth is recognised by a commentator on Magna Carta writing in the middle of the fifteenth century. He has to explain why, despite its form, the charter should be regarded as a statute. He cites the opening words of Chapter I, *concessimus et hac presenti carta confirmavimus*, and says that 'it was used that what statute that the king and his council made, it was ever set in the king's confirming, so that the king, being chief of his council, spake in his own name and his council's . . . But nowadays, for that the king is intrinsicate within his council and may not do without them, therefore it is written underneath [that is, after the preamble of a statute] in this form, *Ordinatum est*'.[2] Of the identity of the council with the lords temporal and spiritual in the fifteenth century more will be said hereafter. At the moment, it is necessary to note that, from unmistakable historical evidence, we can point to a narrow period within which this political evolution was consummated: it must be placed in the reign of Edward II. It is then that the conception of peerage takes shape and men begin to talk of peers of the land. Under Edward I men had hardly thought of peers in this sense, but before the reign of

[1] This comes from the 'addicio de cartis', the authenticity of which, as stated above, has been disputed. It is embodied in *Fleta*, lib. i, c. 17. The same idea is expressed by the barons in 1312: the king, prelates, earls and barons are bound to furnish redress 'ad querimoniam vulgi' (*Annales Londonienses* in *Chronicles of Edward I and Edward II* (Rolls Series), i. 215). Again, in Scrope's speech in the Northampton eyre of 1329, he says that 'à parlement dreyn tenu à Northamton pleintz vindrent à nostre seignur le roi de totes costes de roialme qe le peuple fut si malement demené par divers oppressions des grauntz . . . Les pleintz oyz, le roi et les grauntz à ceo parlement esteauntz par comune assent ordinerent . . .' (Cam, *Liberties and Communities in Medieval England*, p. 159).

[2] Br. Mus. Royal MS. 17 B. xlvii, fo. 147. The spelling has been modernised.

Edward II had run its course, the notion of peerage had become thoroughly established in England.[1]

The practical outcome of this development is the transformation of parliament. There the peers afforce the council and together with the ministers they constitute the *magnum consilium*, before which the most important business of parliament is transacted.[2] One result of this change has not passed unremarked, though the cause may not have been appreciated. In the thirteenth century the barons petition on behalf of the community at large: in the reign of Edward III the commons do so. Beginning with the Articles of the Barons of 1215 there are notices of many baronial petitions, the text of which has not come down to us, but for the most part apparently of a simple nature, asking for the confirmation or observance of the charters or the appointment of the principal ministers by common counsel of the realm.[3] The Petition of the Barons in 1258 is unusual in its contents and its length, while another we may remark is that of 1297, which led to the *Confirmatio Cartarum*.[4] In the early fourteenth century the position is one of some obscurity, but on some occasions it seems as if the

[1] The process by which the name of 'peers' came to be applied specially to magnates summoned to parliament can be illustrated by parallel passages from Bracton, *Fleta* and Britton. In his discussion of lese-majesty, Bracton writes: 'Videtur, sine preiudicio melioris sententie, quod curia et pares iudicabunt" and again 'Si autem gravis fuerit et proxima exheredationi, quod redemptionem inducat, ibi debent pares iustitiariis associari, ne ipse rex per seipsum vel iustitiarios suos sine paribus actor sit et iudex' (fo. 119*b*). Abbreviated, these sentences become in *Fleta*, lib. i, c. 21: 'nam si sit felonia vel transgressio gravis, proxima exheredationi, que redemptionem ad minus inducat, tunc coram curia et paribus procedere debet iudicium'; while Britton, with *Fleta* before him, writes: 'et en cas ou nous sumes partie, voloms nous qe nostre court soit juge, sicum countes et barouns en tens de parlement' (ed. Nichols, i. 103). Doubtless contemporary knowledge of the twelve peers of France contributed to the conception of an English peerage (cf. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, v. 281; Trivet, *Annales*, p. 339; Hemingburgh, *Chronicon*, ii. 78). Under Edward II the word 'peers' is used in the treaty of Leek (*Parliamentary Writs*, II. ii. 184) and the phrase 'peers of the land' in the sentence of exile on the Despensers (*Statutes of the Realm*, i. 181, 184). The prelates are stated to be 'peers of the realm' in 1322 (*Cal. Close Rolls, 1318–23*, pp. 543, 545). In September 1326 the king speaks of the 'juggementz des piers et parlement' with reference to the condemnation of Roger Mortimer (*Parl. Writs*, II. ii. app. 292). Other references to 'peers' and 'peers of the land' will be found in the documents preserved in the *Annales Londonienses* and by the Bridlington writer (*Chronicles of Edward I and Edward II* (Rolls Series), i. 211, 224, 227, ii. 51).

[2] *English Hist. Rev.*, xlvii. 199–201.

[3] For petitions in 1223, 1225, 1244(?), 1248, 1253, 1255, see Wendover, *Flores Historiarum* (ed. Coxe), iv. 83–4, 99–100; *Annales Monastici*, iii. 93; *Rot. Litterarum Clausarum*, ii. 153; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, iv. 362–8, v. 5–8, 20–1, 373–5, 493–5. Mr. Denholm-Young has suggested that the petition which Matthew Paris introduces *s.a.* 1244 should be referred to 1238 (*English Hist. Rev.*, lviii. 401–23).

[4] For the text see *ibid.*, pp. 169–71.

commons were associated with the barons in presenting petitions to the king,[1] and in 1327 it is definitely established that common petitions are to be put forward, not by the baronage, but by the commons.[2] In the words of the *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum*, some seventy years later, the peers are now all judges and justices.[3] They sit, while the commons, as petitioners, stand before the king and the lords.[4] From the accession of Edward III the commons present their petitions with nearly the same regularity as they are summoned to parliament, and these petitions become the normal basis of legislation.[5]

The year 1327 is a point of cleavage in our constitution to which there is a significant witness. The book of the old statutes closes with the reign of Edward II: the book of the new statutes opens with the reign of Edward III. The second book is markedly inferior to the first.[6] Edward I's parliaments had been dominated by skilled and trained administrators, whereas the feudal reaction under Edward II had determined that the English parliament should develop, not like the French parliament into a professional corporation, but into an assembly composed of men who, however representative of national life, had little claim to expertness in the arts of government. After the year 1327 the commons are no longer summoned intermittently: their right—perhaps we should rather say, their duty—to be represented in every parliament is recognised, and the new statutes are pre-eminently the work of their hands.[7] For all that, it would be quite wrong to suggest that they constitute an estate on a footing of equality with other estates of the realm. Petitioners are not on an equality with judges, nor do they become equals until the balance of political forces shifts and ancient facts become fictions, as they have become to-day, when still the king's faithful commons are summoned to stand at the bar of the House of Lords. After several centuries the commons have patently achieved not merely equality but dominance, and the question arises in what manner and how soon did they attain political power or, as it has been

[1] *Bulletin Inst. Hist. Research*, ix. 7–8. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 9–11.

[3] 'Omnes pares sunt iudices et iusticiarii' (*Modus*, c. 22). It is said expressly in 1330 that the 'countes, barouns et pieres' are 'juges de parlement' (*Rot. Parl.*, ii. 53–4).

[4] As was said in parliament in 1399, 'les communes sont petitioners et demandours . . . le roy et les seignurs de tout temps ont eues et averont, de droit, les jugementz en parlement' (*ibid.*, iii. 427 *b*).

[5] *Bulletin Inst. Hist. Res.*, ix. 12–13.

[6] *Ibid.*; Richardson and Sayles, *The Early Statutes*, pp. 21–3.

[7] Stubbs even went beyond this: 'the third estate,' he said, 'claimed and won its place as the foremost of the three' (*Constitutional History*, ii. 320; see also *ibid.*, iii. 503).

expressed in other words, how and when did they 'win the initiative'?[1]

It does not seem possible to answer this question fully if we confine ourselves to the history of parliament in the Middle Ages, though we may perhaps discern then the beginnings of political consciousness and political action. Now the only evidence of any value of political consciousness or political action must, as it seems to me, be direct. And here I may be permitted to record my conviction that, while what we can learn of the wealth or poverty of individuals, of their personal merits or demerits, of their activity in local administration or elsewhere, may have its interest, especially when we wish to know the kind of men who at different times had a place in parliament, it will not tell us how they acted there.[2] To know that Epictetus was a slave by origin and maimed in body and a beggar for poverty, even though it be added that he was dear to the Immortals,[3] does not tell us that he was a philosopher or teach us anything of his philosophy. Nor do we need a biographical dictionary to establish that the Irish Party was an independent political force under Parnell and Redmond. The question of the political attitude of the commons, or any group of them, can only be resolved by the pragmatic test of their recorded actions.

First let a word be said regarding taxation, a matter on which there will be general agreement. No one will deny the importance of the control of the commons over taxation in the evolution of parliament; but can it be said that the commons in the Middle Ages realised that they had this political weapon in their hands or desired to use it? Time and again they were reluctant to assent to the demands of the government and were grudging in what they gave,[4] but their attitude was determined by considerations of the kind that actuate modern rate-payers' associations.[5]

[1] Professor W. Notestein, *The winning of the initiative by the House of Commons* (Raleigh Lecture, 1924).

[2] On this point I must, I fear, differ, with respect, from Professor Powicke ('Recent work on the English Parliament', *L'Organisation corporative du Moyen Age* (Université de Louvain), iii. 138–9), and from Mr. K. B. McFarlane ('Parliament and "Bastard Feudalism"', *ante*, 4th Series, xxvi. 64–73).

[3] *Δοῦλος Ἐπίκτητος γενόμην, καὶ σῶμ' ἀνάπηρος,*
καὶ πενίην Ἶρος, καὶ φίλος ἀθανάτοις.—Anth. Pal., vii. 676.

[4] For a summary, see Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, iii. 269–74.

[5] Cf. *Richard the Redeless*, passus iv. ll. 46–9.

> . . . We beth . . .
> . . . ysent fro the shiris to shewe what hem greveth
> And to parle for her prophete and passe no ferthere
> And to graunte of her gold to the grett wattis
> By no manere wronge way, but if werre were.

See also *Paston Letters*, v. 178: 'No more, but I prey God send yow the

The provincial convocations of the clergy seem to have been just as reluctant and grudging and from just the same motives.[1] To describe those motives in general as political would be to give the word too wide and tenuous a meaning, though now and again criticism of expenditure must inevitably impinge upon politics. But criticism of past expenditure and the theoretical right to withhold financial aid do not in themselves constitute financial control, even if there be added the right of the commons to demand a rendering of accounts for some particular tax.[2] The formation and formulation of policies, necessarily entailing expenditure, were above the heads of the commons and, to all seeming, above their desires. Modern analogies may tend to deceive us. It is true that the control of the House of Commons over policy remains to-day indirect and is exercised by controlling the executive, in the last resort by withholding supply. It is also true that the House rarely formulates a policy, except at the bidding of the executive. But the underlying realities of modern politics are far removed from medieval realities, which did not include political parties or annual budgets, but which did include an executive, irremovable except by violence—the king.

The king was, of course, several times removed by violence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and it may be profitable to ask what part the commons played in these and other matters of high politics. Parliament is called upon after each revolution to garb it in some sort of legality and the commons are, in different ways, associated with the proceedings on each occasion; but there is no pretence that it is at the instance of the commons that Edward II is replaced by Edward III, Richard II by Henry IV, Henry VI by Edward IV, that Henry VI is restored, that Edward V is set aside or Richard III overthrown. On the issues involved individual members of the commons may have held strong views, but as a body the commons were not agents of revolution. Their duty was to accept and acquiesce. The facts are well known and, I presume, beyond dispute. I mention them merely to make clear the limitations within which any political activities of the commons were pursued. Their part is evidently less passive in the impeachments of the last century of the Middle Ages, the political trials which were the precursors of revolution. But

Holy Gost amonge yow in the Parlement Howse, and rather the Devyll, we sey, then ye shold grante eny more taskys.'

[1] Weske, *Convocation of the Clergy*, pp. 147–79; Stubbs, *op. cit.*, iii. 351–2.

[2] Stubbs, *op. cit.*, ii. 595–9, iii. 271–4.

there was probably little spontaneity in the proceedings brought by the commons : [1] they had to play an allotted rôle, because the trial took place in parliament and the judges were the lords. Institutions and the persons comprising them are not, however, to be appreciated by their part in the extraordinary happenings of revolutionary times. Let us therefore turn to other momentous issues.

What of war and peace ? The baronage claimed the right to be consulted [2] and doubtless were consulted in practice : but the commons' participation in any decision was of the slightest. The Hundred Years War pursued its weary way during most of the history of the medieval House of Commons, but their part was little more than to provide much of the finance, after commitments had been made. It might perhaps be suggested that this is no fair test of their political responsibilities, since the dynastic issues involved put the matter above the commons' heads : Edward III and Henry V claimed the crown of France as their inheritance and, as feudal monarchs properly should, looked to their subjects for aid. But there were occasions when no dynastic issue was involved, for example, the expedition to Flanders of 1383. The commons certainly were, in a measure, consulted, but they disclaimed responsibility for giving advice on the conduct of the expedition, leaving the decision to the superior wisdom of the king and the lords.[3]

What of religion ? What part did the commons take in legislating either against papal interference and foreign influences or in favour of papal claims and against heterodoxy ? There is no question but that what may be conveniently called anti-papal legislation—the Statute of Carlisle and the Statutes of Provisors and Praemunire—were, in the main, government measures (to use a modern term), though purporting to be based upon complaint or petition and doubtless certain of

[1] This is not necessarily true of the earliest impeachments, those of Lord Latimer and Richard Lyons in 1376. The evidence of the *Anonimalle Chronicle*, pp. 85–90, combined with that of the parliament roll (*Rot. Parl.*, ii. 323–7), suggests that on this occasion the commons played a leading part, but not without encouragement from above.

[2] In the ninth of the Ordinances of 1311 this is stated as an accepted fact, nor would the king be likely to dissent, although he rejected the consequences that were drawn from it.

[3] *Rot. Parl.*, iii. 145–8. See especially the speaker's statement ' qe combien qe ceste leur charge de le passage nostre seignur le roy ne l'ordinance de son viage ou de nul autre grant viage à faire soleit ne doit appertenir à la commune, einz au roy mesmes et as seignurs du roialine, come lour semble '. The commons, however, indicated a preference for the bishop of Norwich's proposal : see my *John of Gaunt and the parliamentary representation of Lancashire* (from *Bulletin John Rylands Library*, vol. xxii), pp. 27–8, where the evidence is reviewed.

receiving popular acquiescence or approval.[1] Heresy legislation stands on a different footing. The first statute, that of 1382, was passed at the instance of the clergy, and evoked an ineffectual protest from the commons.[2] The statute of 1401, which provided for the death penalty, was based upon a petition from the commons, as well as a petition from the clergy, but there is no question that the impulse came from Archbishop Arundel.[3] He and his brother bishops had already petitioned Richard II to the same effect [4] and now, as one of the chief supporters of Henry IV, his importunity could not be denied. Subsequent heresy legislation was of relatively little consequence, once the principle had been conceded that the secular power would burn him whom the Church had condemned.[5] Over this cardinal issue there is no reason to suppose that the commons had any pronounced views. There may have been some convinced Lollards among them: there may have been some zealots of orthodoxy. As a body they acquiesced in a decision made above their heads.

Nor were the commons obtrusively active on economic questions. The basis of labour legislation was the ordinance of 18 June 1349, issued when parliament was not sitting, and the statute of 1351 appears to have been ready drafted when the commons prayed for stronger penalties.[6] The principal measure affecting the wool-trade was the Statute of the Staple of 1353: this was a government measure, submitted to the commons for their approval.[7] The commons were, nevertheless, sensitive on points which touched their material interests and expected to be consulted. The impeachment of Latimer and Lyons in 1376, which differed from later impeachments in that it may well have originated with the commons themselves, turned upon what we should now call frauds on the revenue.[8] In 1381 the council anticipated objections to the charters of manumission the king had granted by annulling them and then asking for the inevitable approval of lords and commons. This approval was accompanied by the reminder that

[1] For these see *Statutes of the Realm*, i. 150–2, 316–18, 329, 385–7, ii. 69–74, 84–6; *Rot. Parl.*, i. 219–23, ii. 144–5, 153–4, 232–3, 252, 284–5, iii. 304.

[2] *English Hist. Rev.*, li. 5–9.

[3] *Rot. Parl.*, iii. 459, 466–7, 473–4; *Statutes of the Realm*, ii. 125–8. Measures against heresy had been foreshadowed in convocation in October 1399 (Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 239).

[4] *Bulletin. Inst. Hist. Research*, xi. 152–4; *English Hist. Rev.*, li. 21–22.

[5] Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, iii. 371–5: but see Richardson and Sayles, *The Early Statutes*, p. 16*n*, for the act of 1406.

[6] *Statutes of the Realm*, i. 307–8, 311–13; *Rot. Parl.*, ii. 225*b*, 227*b*, 233–5: cf. Putnam, *Enforcement of the Statutes of Labourers*, p. 2.

[7] *Rot. Parl.*, ii. 246, 253*b*.

[8] For references, see above.

the manumission of villeins was impossible without their assent.[1]

The commons, like the lords, were jealous of their rights and conservative in principle, but, unlike the lords, their duties were critical rather than constructive. They were not expected to make any great contribution to statecraft. In 1399 it was said of the knights of the shire—and certainly no more was required of the burgesses—that their function was to be present in parliament to expose the grievances of the people and to sue for suitable remedies. It was incumbent upon them, too, to object to proposals for oppressive taxation and their assent was necessary to all grants and subsidies.[2] If the king declared, further, that their advice and assent was to be sought in the making of statutes and in matters affecting the common interest of the realm, we must not read too much into words such as these.[3] The king could spare the commons the trouble of attendance at parliament and could transact the necessary business at a great council at which his natural counsellors, the peers, would be present, but from which the representative element would be absent.[4]

At this point a little more may suitably be said of the position of the lords in parliament and in the council. I have already cited the commentator on Magna Carta who remarks that ' the king is intrinsicate within his council and may not do without them '. Although he does not identify the council with the lords, this identification is necessary. For proof, we may turn to an authoritative statement drawn up during Henry VI's minority. The execution of the king's authority, it declares, ' belongeth unto the lords spiritual and temporal of his land, at such time as they be assembled in parliament or in great council ', and, if they are not so assembled, then ' unto the lords chosen and named to be his continual council '.[5] Nor is this a novel doctrine : nearly a century before, Bishop Granson of Exeter, when explaining the nature of the crown, asserted that its substance lies primarily in the king's person, as head, and in the peers of the land, as members, which con-

[1] *Rot. Parl.*, iii. 100. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 420, no. 36. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 427, no. 79.

[4] There is a convincing example of this in 1402 : the substitution of a great council is stated expressly to be ' pur tost remedier as susdites busoignes au meindre vexacion de nostre poeple ' (*Bulletin Inst. Hist. Research*, xi. 158–60). The alternative of great council or parliament is found in the fourteenth century, as in 1386 when Richard II informs Pedro IV of Aragon that certain business will be dealt with ' ad nostrum proximum parliamentum vel magnum consilium ' (Perroy, *Diplomatic correspondence of Richard II*, p. 41). A similar alternative is found in 1317, though the term used is ' convocatio prelatorum et magnatum de regno ' (*Bulletin Inst. Hist. Research*, vi. 73).

[5] *Ordinances of Privy Council*, iii. 233 : cf. *ibid.*, p. 238.

dition is so bound up with the crown that there cannot be severance without dividing the kingship.[1]

But ideas of this kind, however convenient for some purposes, have their inevitable inconveniences. By the fourteenth century men had arrived at the conception of an ideal king, undying and incapable of wrong-doing,[2] that consorted ill with the natural man who was mortal and fallible. To unite this ideal king with a council of peers, inseparable from him and sharing his authority, was to create a further antinomy. The peers, too, were natural men, with personal interests that might conflict with those of the crown or personal grievances that might need a remedy which only the king could supply. The commons provided a possible means of escape from the difficulty. As petitioners, might not they present petitions on behalf of others? When first the commons had an established position in parliament, it seems to have been understood that their requests would relate to matters of general interest.[3] Moreover, a separate procedure had long been in existence, whereby private petitions found their way to the council in parliament through the hands of the receivers and auditors (or triers) of petitions.[4] But it is not easy to draw a precise line between public and private interests and it is clear that, at a very early date, the commons were approached to include among their petitions requests from limited classes, including the lords.[5] The spiritual peers were obviously a class apart: they owed allegiance to Rome as well as to the king and they still presented petitions on behalf of the clergy or registered dissent from anti-papal legislation.[6] Nevertheless, despite occasional anomalies and exceptions, it becomes manifestly

[1] *Register of John de Grandisson*, ii. 840: 'la substance de la nature de la corone est principaument en la persone le roi, come teste, et en les piers de la terre, come membres, qi tenent de lui par certeyn homage, et noméement des prélatz, quiele chose est si annexé à la dite corone q' ele ne poet pas estre sevrée sans division du roiaume . . .'

[2] Edward II succeeds, without any interval of time and before the ceremony of coronation, on the death of his father. The king can do no wrong, because wrong-doing is incompatible with kingship and because the king's torts, though remediable, are not justiciable. It seems true that the maxim is not stated in express terms, but it is implicit in the law in the thirteenth century: cf. Holdsworth, *History of English Law*, iii. 464–6, where, however, the development of the doctrine seems to be put too late. Already in the thirteenth century proceedings are directed against the king's ministers and not the king himself (Richardson and Sayles, *Select Cases of Procedure without Writ*, pp. lxx f., clxxxvii ff.).

[3] *Rot. Parl.*, ii. 160, no. 11, 237, no. 8.

[4] *English Hist. Rev.*, xlvi. 534–6, 542–6, xlvii. 195–201, 379–86.

[5] *Bulletin Inst. Hist. Research*, ix. 9–10.

[6] The account given by Stubbs (*Constitutional History*, ii. 622–9) needs correction in detail, but it provides the principal references, which need not be repeated here. References to heresy legislation have already been given.

true that the commons are adopting, as their own, petitions that do not represent their spontaneous wishes or their peculiar interests. Sometimes the wording of a particular petition will disclose this and sometimes its substance will do so: sometimes there is the evidence of a separate document to disclose the origin of the request.[1] The commons become part of the machinery of government: they are the recognised channel through which certain kinds of business pass. Nor should we be surprised if they are employed to put forward proposals devised by the lords, either in their capacity as the council or individually, as a faction within or outside the council. Nor should it surprise us if, to facilitate the conduct of affairs, there are consultations between the lords and commons. Such consultations took place, in various forms, from the reign of Edward III until the end of the Middle Ages and beyond.[2]

It has already been said that there were two separate forms of procedure for dealing with petitions on matters of public interest and private petitions. The former were handed to the clerk of the parliament and the latter to the receivers of petitions. In the early years of Edward III this distinction is plainly established and private petitions were separately enrolled. But before long these separate enrolments cease, and there is good reason to suppose that, although the ancient procedure is maintained in appearance, it is being supplanted.[3] Many private petitions were going elsewhere than to parliament and some, it seems evident, were finding their way to the commons, in the hope perhaps that the individual grievance of which complaint was made would appear suitable as the basis for a prayer for a general remedy. It is highly probable that the attempted exclusion of lawyers from membership of the commons was due to the fear that

[1] The original of a petition included among those put forward by the commons in the parliament of November 1372 (*Rot. Parl.*, ii. 311, no. 20) has survived. It begins: 'Au parlement nostre seigneur le roi moustrent les marchauntz et marineres d' Engleterre', and continues as in the parliament roll (Exch. T. of R., Council and Privy Seal, E. 28/1, ninth document).

[2] Mr. McFarlane minimises the importance and frequency of these consultations and scouts the suggestion that the clerks who made up the parliament rolls may have omitted to note their occurrence (*ante*, Fourth Series, xxvi. 54, n. 1). He seems to have overlooked the important document of 31 October 1399, printed in *Bulletin Inst. Hist. Res.*, xi. 155–8, which furnishes an instance of such an omission. As evidence of the long continuance of these consultations, it is unnecessary to do more than cite Edward Hall's *Chronicle* (ed. 1809), pp. 655, 766–7, 775–80, describing various meetings between members of the two houses in the parliaments of 1523 and 1529. Of the value of Hall's testimony for the light it casts on medieval conditions, more is said later.

[3] *Bulletin Inst. Hist. Research*, ix. 3–5, 17; *English Hist. Rev.*, xlvii. 379–80

they would use their influence to further their clients' interests.[1] But this was a development that could not be stayed and, by the reign of Richard II, the commons had become a recognised channel through which private petitions were presented to parliament.[2] Not only so, but they gave consideration, and in suitable cases their support, to petitions addressed to the council.[3] It is probable that it was already the practice, as it seems certainly to have been in the fifteenth century, for the lords to refer petitions to the commons.[4] The details of the procedure are obscure, the more so since at each parliament there continued to be appointed triers of petitions whose functions are not easily related to those of the lords or of the commons. The important point, however, is not any baffling question of detail, but that, before the close of the fourteenth century, the commons were performing a function of a kind that earlier in the century had been performed by the triers of petitions, though the reply was determined by the council who, for this purpose, are indistinguishable from the lords.[5] The

[1] *Bulletin Inst. Hist. Research*, ix. 11–12. Cf. *Ordinances of the Privy Council*, iii. 219–20 ; ' and specialy that no man of lawe be shirrief, for evere it is to suppose that thai have oone parties matiere or other in hande.'

[2] *Bulletin Inst. Hist. Research*, p. 12, n. 3 ; Gray, *The influence of the Commons on early legislation*, pp. 348–56.

[3] For example, only one of the ten petitions sent forward by the commons in 1397, mentioned in the note below, is addressed to them. They are printed imperfectly in *Rot. Parl.*, iii. 447–8, but a full transcript is in Lansdowne MS. 482, fo. 23–30.

[4] *Rot. Parl.*, iv. 250, no. 39 : ' Item, une autre petition fuist baillé as ditz seignurs en mesme parlement par les merchantz de l' estaple, conteinantz cynk articles, laquelle petition depuis fuist mandé par mesmes les seignurs as ditz communes pour ent avoir leur avys, les queux communes mesme la petition rebaillerent come une de lour communes petitions '.

[5] This might be deduced from the customary inscription on petitions ' Soit baillé aux seigneurs ', but the procedure is perhaps best illustrated by the detailed arrangements made on certain occasions when time did not permit all petitions to be answered before the session ended. The earliest statement that has come to light relates to 1397, though it is erroneously referred to 1399 in *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, iii. 448. Since it is there printed imperfectly from a damaged original, it may be well to reproduce it from a certified copy of 9 February 1675/6 (Lansdowne MS. 482, fo. 30 *b*) : ' Fait à remembrer qe celles dis peticions, qi sont annexés ensemble, furent envoiéz au roi par les comunes en parlement, empriantz au roi, de sa grace, q' il plerroit tendrement prendre à coer la matire comprit en ycelles et faire graciouse remedie en celle partie ; sur quoy le roy, entendues mesmes les peticions, les livere en parlement par ses maines propres et mesmes les peticions, de sa grace par assent du parlement, ad commys as certeines seignurs, c'est assavoir, l'ercevesque de Canterbirs, le duc de Lancastre, l'evesque de Wyncestre, l'evesque de Sarum, le cont de Roteland, le count Mareschall, ovek les officers le roy, pur trier, regarder et examiner les ditz peticions en la quinzaine de Pasqe proschein et outre ceo pur faire, par auctorité du parlement, graces et pardone et autres remedies resonables en ceo cas, solonc ceo qe leur semblera meulx, par leur bone discrecion, pur l'estat, honour et honesté nostre seignur le roi en celle partie '. A similar procedure was followed in 1422 when petitions were sent to the council ' à l'entent qe les seignurs de mesme le

petitions addressed to the commons and the petitions they were called upon to consider were not necessarily, nor perhaps for the most part, such as would give rise to legislation: many certainly were concerned with matters of grace or administration.[1] It is by no means clear why their advice or support should be desired. Yet the fact that their opinion was sought by the lords and their intervention by petitioners is a fact of importance, for it is the basis of the procedure under which they were to share in private bill legislation.

It has been necessary to mention the relation of the commons to private bills if the picture of their activities in parliament was to be reasonably complete, but there is a little more yet to be said of their participation in affairs that can be more strictly termed political. Although it was only with the accession of Edward III that the commons' place in parliament became established, not very long after that date we can find evidence that they were already regarded as of some consequence in international politics. This is the manner in which the pope is addressed in a letter dated in open parliament at Westminster on 18th May 1343:

> To the very holy Father in God, Sir Clement, by divine providence sovereign bishop of the holy church of Rome and of the church universal, his humble and devout sons, the prince, dukes, earls, barons, knights, citizens, burgesses and all the commune of the realm of England in the parliament held at Westminster on the quinzaine of Easter last past, devoutly kissing his feet with all reverences and humilities.

The letter goes on to protest against the reservations, provisions and collations granted by the pope and his predecessors and to ask for a remedy.[2] There were precedents for this letter,

conseil pur le temps estéantz facent determinations de et sur les matiers contenuz en ycelles peticions': no distinction is made between petitions sent forward by the commons and others (*Rot. Parl.*, iv. 174, no. 21). Likewise in 1428 petitions were sent to the lords of the council (*ibid.*, p. 334).

[1] Besides the petitions printed in the *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, e.g., iii. 515–16 (no. 9–11), 517 (no. 14), 520 (no. 21, 23), there are many unprinted petitions which illustrate the point. Thus there is a petition from Sir William Bowet who desires to prosecute his suit for reversal of outlawry (Coram Rege Roll, Mich. 7 Hen. V, K.B. 27/634, Rex, m. 29). A petition from Margery Boys and others for the correction of an erroneous record of an assize of novel disseisin leads to a decree in the court of chancery (Ancient Petitions 9862–4). The earl of Somerset and his brother, both minors and prisoners of the Scots, ask to be ransomed (Anc. Pet. 9860). Edward, Lord Hastings, asks for the appointment of commissioners to decide his action against Reginald, Lord Grey of Ruthyn, regarding the right to bear the Hastings arms (Anc. Pet. 9883).

[2] For the text see Murimuth and Avesbury, *Chronica* (Rolls Series), pp. 138, 353; there is a Latin version in Hemingburgh, *Chronicon*, ii. 401–3.

notably one in 1301 and another in 1307. The first, addressed to Boniface VIII by the barons in the parliament of Lincoln, is sealed by them on their own behalf and on behalf of the whole community of the realm of England.[1] The second, to Clement V, purports to be a protest from the clergy and people of the realm.[2] In neither case is any specific mention made of the knights, citizens and burgesses. The contrast with the letter of 1343 is noteworthy.

If Edward III was comforted by the support of the knights, citizens and burgesses in parliament, how much more comfort might Henry IV derive from their support in dealing with foreign powers. In one manifesto of his there is incorporated a petition coming from the commons, but obviously inspired from above. In the first edition of this manifesto, in order to enhance the importance of the commons' declaration in his favour, the king describes them all as knights and says that they are the proctors and attorneys of every county, city and borough and of the entire people of England, lawfully constituted according to the rule, custom and practice of the realm.[3] To this, and to another royal manifesto of two years previously, there was appended, by the side of the seals of representative peers, the seal of the speaker on behalf of the commons.[4] We must not, however, read too much into these royal tributes to the high place occupied by the commons in the state. Henry was desperately anxious to establish his title to be regarded as a lawful king, especially in face of the scorn with which he was treated in France, and he needed to make the most of any support he could claim. We shall look in vain, during the rest of the middle ages, for parallels either to Henry's description of the commons or to their participation in royal manifestos. These things consort incongruously with the commons' reluctance, a few years earlier, to accept responsibility for decisions taken in parliament.[5]

The superiority of the lords is too obvious to permit us to attribute to the commons more than a subordinate, if respectable, part in the proceedings of parliament. But evidently it would have been inconvenient to Henry IV if the commons had been grudging or reluctant to fall in with his wishes.

[1] *Foedera*, I, ii. 926–7; *Parliamentary Writs*, i. 102–4.

[2] *Rot. Parl.*, i. 207–8; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 220–1.

[3] *Lords' Reports on dignity of a Peer*, v. 161. This manifesto, of 7 June 1406, may never have been used, since it was superseded by another, of 22 December 1406, which incidentally does not repeat the description given to the commons.

[4] *Bulletin Inst. Hist. Research*, xi. 160–2; *Lords' Reports on dignity of a Peer*, v. 163–7.

[5] *Rot. Parl.*, iii. 427, no. 79.

Other kings felt the need of their goodwill. If the commons had been well disposed towards Richard II in 1386 the impeachment of Michael de la Pole would have been frustrated, as would the impeachment of his grandson William in 1450, had Henry VI been able to find strong support among the commons.[1] They were, therefore, on occasion, worth wooing and worth managing. There are indeed signs that, in the fifteenth century and in the latter years of the fourteenth, knights of the shire were, from time to time, enlisted in the interest of the king or of some great lord. There is not the same evidence regarding the burgesses, though the pocket-borough came into existence in the fifteenth century: the burgesses were not of the same consequence as the knights, who enjoyed unquestioned dominance in the lower house.[2]

And this brings me to the vexed question of elections and their management. A seat in the commons had, by the fifteenth century, become in itself something desirable. This had not always been so. Perhaps the most striking piece of evidence is the representation of Northumberland from 1337 to 1339 by chancery clerks, whose duties would in any case

[1] For the proceedings see *Rot. Parl.*, iii. 216–20, v. 176–83. Stubbs's commentary has not been superseded (*Constitutional History*, ii. 495–9, iii. 149–54).

[2] That the knights maintained a separate identity within the general body of the commons does not admit of doubt. Not only did they represent a distinct interest but, although they were not consistently an entirely homogeneous group, speaking generally they enjoyed both wealth and social superiority and unquestionably dominated the commons (*Bulletin Inst. Hist. Research*, ix. 13–14; McKisack, *Parliamentary representation of the English boroughs*, p. 131). I have already suggested that, if it could be assumed that the knights sat in the common house while the burgesses stood, we should have an explanation of an obscure line in *Richard the Redeless*, 'No burne of the benche, of borowe nother ellis' (Cam, *Liberties and Communities in Medieval England*, p. 230*n*). Could a knight be appropriately called a 'burne of the benche'? That the knights sat is quite clear from the account of the parliament of 1376 in the *Anonimalle Chronicle* (pp. 80–2), but, since only knights are reported to have spoken, we do not learn whether burgesses sat or not. A passage in the report of the Colchester burgesses on the parliament of 1485 seems to make it tolerably clear that they stood or, at least, that seats were not reserved for them. Modernising their spelling, the Colchester members state as follows: 'The seventh day of November by nine of the clock so for to proceed unto election for to choose a speaker. So the election gave their voice to Thomas Lovell, a gentleman of Lincoln's Inn. That done, it pleased the knights that were there present for to rise from their seats and so for to go to that place where as the speaker stood and brought him and set him in his seat . . .' (*Red Paper Book of Colchester* (ed. W. G. Benham), p. 62). The knights then were seated together, while Lovell was standing apart: anyone familiar with the Chapter House at Westminster will appreciate how limited the seating accommodation was and can visualise the scene. The implication is that Lovell was not a knight. If so, he was the first town member to be elected speaker. We cannot verify this, for the returns for the parliament are lost, but it is as well to say that the statement that he was a member for 'Norfolk or Middlesex' is a mere conjecture (Wedgwood, *History of Parliament, 1439–1509* (Biographies), pp. 555–6). In any case the Colchester report illustrates effectively the dominance of the knights.

take them to parliament : [1] but a good deal of other evidence suggests that there was much indifference, if not widespread reluctance, to service in parliament.[2] In the fifteenth century there was a different atmosphere. Three or four candidates seem commonly to have presented themselves for election in the counties,[3] while in the towns there appears to have been a gradual and steady infiltration of candidates from outside, who were citizens or burgesses merely for the purpose of election.[4] In towns the franchise was normally a narrow one, and the choice, if it were not influenced from without, presumably fell upon some worthy burgess who looked to this, as he looked to other borough offices, as the inevitable and natural corollary of a successful career.[5] Sometimes perhaps the sheriff made his return regardless of the wishes of the townsmen, but it is by no means certain that this was a widespread practice in the fifteenth century.[6]

The more important elections in the counties—more important because they concerned more important people—have left much greater trace on the records than borough elections,

[1] William of Embledon and David of Wooler are the clerks in question : see *Return of Members of Parliament*, i. 114, 122, 125, 127. For biographical details, see Wilkinson, *The Chancery under Edward III*, pp. 162, 164–5, and *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th Series, xi. 33–6, where, however, there seems to be some confusion with another William of Embledon.

[2] *John of Gaunt and the parliamentary representation of Lancashire*, pp. 17–23.

[3] Here are particulars of nine disputed elections, which, however, there is no reason to regard as exceptional in respect of the number of candidates. Rutland, 1404 : 3 candidates (*Rot. Parl.*, iii. 530). Bucks, 1429 : 4 candidates (Exch. Parliamentary and Council Proceedings, E. 175/3/27). Hunts, 1429 : 4 candidates (*Return of Members of Parliament*, i. 316). Hunts, 1450 : 3 candidates (Prynne, *Parliamentary Writs*, iii. 156–9). Norfolk, 1450 : 3 candidates (*Paston Letters*, ii. 176, 184–5). Kent, 1455 : 3 candidates (Exchequer Plea Roll, E. 13/146, mm. 36, 43, 46*b*). Suffolk, 1455 : 3 candidates (*ibid.*, mm. 69, 70, 81*b*). Norfolk, 1461 : 4 candidates (*English Hist. Rev.*, xl. 79–86; *Paston Letters*, iii. 36, 284, 290, 297). Suffolk, 1472 : 3 candidates (E. 13/158, mm. 59, 62*b*, 66*b*, 67, 73, 75).

[4] On candidates from outside the borough, see McKisack, *op. cit.*, pp. 100–1, 106–18, and Wedgwood, *History of Parliament, 1439–1509* (Register), pp. lxxxviii–xc.

[5] Information is scanty, except in the case of London, where conditions were exceptional : for other towns, see McKisack, *op. cit.*, pp. 101–6.

[6] The two known cases belong to the reign of Richard II (McKisack, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–40), and it is unsafe to generalise therefrom. One of the noteworthy features of the case of the Shaftesbury representation in the parliament of 1384 is that the town made a return direct to John Montague, steward of the household, and professed to be entirely devoted to the king's interest. As Prynne pointed out, the sheriff actually returned the two members elected by the town and did not substitute his own nominee, despite the burgesses' apprehension (Prynne, *Parliamentary Writs*, iii. 286–7). The strongest evidence at present available for the fifteenth century appears to be a petition from the commons ascribed to 15 Henry VI in *Rot. Parl.*, iv. 511, and the petition and resulting statute of 1445 (*ibid.*, v. 115–16 ; *Statutes of the Realm*, ii. 340–2).

and we need be in no doubt of the general picture the county court presented when, in the fifteenth century, it was called upon to elect two knights of the shire. There may have been exceptional cases where the choice was settled over the heads of the suitors, but ordinarily the county court was, on these occasions, attended by several hundred qualified voters as well as by many others without qualification.[1] The proceedings were tumultuous. Names were proposed, and supporters shouted their approval.[2] There might be threats of violence and the session might end in confusion.[3] Without an electoral roll and without any system of ballot, the sheriff's task was, at best, difficult.[4] To circumvent corruption it was provided by statute in 1406 that the names of those elected should be returned in an indenture under the seals of the electors who chose them.[5] But the provision was virtually impossible of performance, for, if literally obeyed, it would have meant that four or five hundred persons would affix their seals. As a rule the number of electors named in an indenture was small,[6] but even in a case where 164 gave their names and appended their seals, three hundred others were said to have voted in favour of the two knights returned by the sheriff. Yet it was alleged that one of these two had been improperly returned.[7] Where there had been a contest and much confused shouting, the sup-

[1] The statutory indentures usually afford no indication of the numbers present. When we get details the numbers are large. In Bucks, in 1429, there were 125 suitors named and a great many others (E. 175/3/27). In Hunts, in 1450, there were 124 freeholders and 300 good commoners who voted for the successful candidates: seventy others voted for the unsuccessful candidate (Prynne, *Parliamentary Writs*, iii. 158). In Suffolk, in 1455, there were 164 named and very many others, to the number of 300, who were qualified voters: these were said to have voted for the successful candidates and presumably a further number of supporters of the unsuccessful candidate should be added (E. 13/146, mm. 69*b*, 70). In Norfolk, in 1461, there is mention of 500 persons on one occasion and 1,000 on another, although these figures are obviously unreliable (*English Hist. Rev.*, xl. 82–5). In Cambridge, in an uncertain year, but apparently 1439 (not 1454), there was a 'multitude of people' (*Ordinances of the Privy Council*, vi. 335: cf. *Rot. Parl.*, v. 7–8).

[2] So it is said of the supporters of Gilbert Debenham, the unsuccessful candidate for Suffolk in 1472, that they 'tunc et ibidem nominarunt et voces suas ibidem dederunt et elegerunt ipsum Gilbertum esse unum militum comitatus Suff' predicti' (E. 13/158, m. 67*b*).

[3] As in Cambridge (*ut supra*) and in Norfolk in 1461 (*English Hist. Rev.*, xl. 79–86; *Paston Letters*, iii. 36, 297).

[4] The difficulties are well illustrated by the Norfolk election of 1461. After the first, abortive, election it was suggested that the candidates should get a list of their qualified supporters who had voted (*ibid.*, p. 290). At the second election, the sheriff seems to have attempted to verify the qualifications of those voting, but apparently gave up the attempt (*English Hist. Rev.*, xl. 85).

[5] *Rot. Parl.*, iii. 601; *Statutes of the Realm*, ii. 156.

[6] Prynne, *Parliamentary Writs*, ii. 128–131, iii. 173–8, 252–4; Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, iii. 421–2.

[7] In the Suffolk election of 1455 (E. 13/146, mm. 69*b*, 70).

porters of any one of the candidates might demand that the sheriff should enter into an indenture, but the final decision, when there was the least doubt, was his.[1] Petitions against false returns are known,[2] but from 1410 onwards a remedy was provided in the courts of common law.[3] Thereafter the sheriff accused of making a false return might have to face an action by an unsuccessful candidate or, subsequent to the statute of 1445, an action by one or more common informers or, quite possibly, several actions.[4] But the chances are that the plaintiffs would be worn down by the law's delays and, it may be, lack of sympathy on the part of the courts.[5] Certainly the statutes did not provide a swift and effective remedy.

The opportunities for manipulation are obvious, and sheriffs were in bad repute. They were charged by the commons with corruption and venality in arranging elections,[6] and it was assumed by the council, as a matter of course, that, if a lord's steward were made sheriff, he would serve his master's interest.[7] Moreover, it is quite certain that, on occasion, the sheriffs were directed to return particular candidates. The most notorious instance is that of the elections to the parliament of Coventry

[1] In 1429 an indenture for John Hampden and Andrew Sperlyng was sealed by 125 suitors, but the sheriff of Bucks returned John Cheyne and Walter Strickland (E. 175/3/27). In 1461 the undersheriff of Norfolk writes to John Paston 'I purpose me, as I wol answer God, to retorne the dieu eleccion, that is after the sufficiente, yow and Master Grey; nevir the latyr I have a master' (*Paston Letters*, iii. 36). In 1472 the sheriff of Suffolk 'aliquam indenturam inter ipsum ac easdem personas que voces suas sic ibidem dederunt de eleccione illa facere noluit' (E. 13/158, m. 67*b*).

[2] As in the case of the Rutland election of 1404 (*Rot. Parl.*, iii. 530, no. 38). In 1384 there was a petition from Shaftesbury (Prynne, *Parliamentary Writs*, iii. 286–7).

[3] *Statutes of the Realm*, ii. 162: amending statutes were passed in 1427 and 1445 (*ibid.*, pp. 235–6, 340–2).

[4] The statute provided for an action of debt against the returning officer by an elected member not returned or, in his default, by any other person. Process was to be as in an action for trespass. The action in the exchequer was on the sheriff's account, the allegation being that he was in debt to the plaintiff to the amount of the statutory penalty. In the case of the Suffolk election of 1455, the defendant in the exchequer stated that an action was pending against him in the Common Bench (E. 13/146. m. 70). In the case of the Suffolk election of 1472, the unsuccessful candidate commenced an action in the exchequer in the Michaelmas term 1472, but abandoned it (E. 13/158, m. 59): in the following Hilary term independent actions were commenced by John Peverell and John Gravener (*ibid.*, mm. 67, 75).

[5] No conclusion is reached in the actions I have noted in the Exchequer Plea Rolls. In two instances it is stated that the action is discontinued (Kent, 1455, E. 13/146, m. 46*b*; Suffolk, 1472, E. 13/158, m. 59). In the other cases, after many adjournments, the action fades out. The court does not appear to protect the plaintiff against what seem obviously to be deliberate delays by the defendant.

[6] *Rot. Parl.*, iii. 601, v. 115.

[7] 'Item that no man beyng stuarde withe any lorde be neither shirrief ne eschetour in the shires that he is officer in': this is in 1426 (*Ordinances of the Privy Council*, iii. 221; *Rot. Parl.*, v. 409*b*).

in 1459. Besides the normal writs of summons, the sheriffs received writs of privy seal intimating whom they were to return : in some counties there were the formalities of election and in others apparently not.[1] The sheriffs, who had themselves been illegally retained beyond their year of office, took alarm and sought, and were granted, indemnity from the penalties imposed by the statute.[2] A similar allegation that the free election of knights of the shire was obstructed is made in the case of the Reading parliament of 1453 ;[3] nor is there much room for doubt, although we do not possess the corroborative evidence that we have in the case of the Coventry parliament, for there was nothing new in the wholesale manipulation of elections. It is quite evident that the elections to the first parliament of Henry IV were a mere pretence and that the sheriffs had received other instructions besides the formal writs of summons.[4] And if Richard II had not had much success in this business of manipulating elections, there was widespread belief that he had attempted it.[5] We need not suppose, however, that elections were manipulated with great frequency in the interest of the king : there is no reason to suppose that it was often necessary.[6] No great political issue faced the electors at most elections, and indeed the greatest of political issues were settled outside parliament. After the event, the victor could count on adequate support, or at least compliance, on the part of the lords and his faithful commons. Sometimes the proposals put before them may have been strong meat for their stomachs, as when the commons were asked to approve the attainders of 1485. ' There was many gentlemen against it ', Sir Robert Plumpton was told by his corre-

[1] The sheriffs themselves say that ' it pleased youre Highnes to commaunde dyvers of your seid besechers by your honourable letters of pryvie seall to procede to election in their severall shires of knyghtes for shires for this your present parlement for the good and hasty speed thereof ' and that the elections were ' aswele by force of youre writtes as by force of youre letters of pryve seall as other wise ' (*Rot. Parl.*, v. 367, no. 35). The following year the commons say that the parliament ' was unduely summoned and a grete parte of the knyghts for dyvers shyres . . . and many citezeins and burgeys for dyvers citees and burghes . . . were named, retourned and accepted, some of theym withoute dieu and free election and some of theym withoute any election ' (*ibid.*, p. 374). See also the *English Chronicle* (ed. J. S. Davies, Camden Soc.), p. 83.

[2] *Rot. Parl.*, v. 367 (35). The P.R.O. *List of Sheriffs* shows that in a number of instances, but by no means universally, the serving sheriffs were retained for more than a twelve-month.

[3] ' Bale's Chronicle ' in Flenley, *Six Town Chronicles*, pp. 139–40.

[4] ' The elections to the October parliament of 1399,' *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, xvi. 137–43.

[5] The evidence is examined in my *John of Gaunt and the parliamentary representation of Lancashire*, pp. 34–43.

[6] For the allegations against Henry IV in the light of the available evidence, see *ibid.*, pp. 43–5.

spondent in London, ' but it would not be, for it was the king's pleasure.' [1]

Direct evidence that the great lords influenced elections is not abundant, though there seems to be adequate ground for believing that they did so, not necessarily, of course, for reasons of state, but perhaps to gratify a friend or a dependant.[2] Legal proceedings following disputed elections do not, so far as I am acquainted with them, give any hint of the forces in the background or suggest any reason why the sheriff should have made a false return. We should not, however, conclude that such happenings were inadvertent and without motive. Chance sometimes provides the clue. The election of the knights of the shire for Kent in 1455 led to an action on behalf of an unsuccessful candidate but, though it is alleged that he was, in fact, elected, no reason is advanced why the sheriff should have refused to return him.[3] However, a letter under the privy seal has survived which makes it clear that complaint had been lodged with the council of ' busy labour made in sundry wises by certain persons for the choosing of the said knights '. The letter, which is addressed to the sheriff, continues : ' and by likelihood inconvenient might ensue of such party as shall be at the said election, of the which labour we marvel greatly, inasmuch as it is nothing to the honour of the labourers but against their worship '. The sheriff is instructed to declare at the time of the election that the king's will is that the shire shall have their free election according to the law and that, if anyone, of whatever estate, degree or condition he be, presume to attempt the contrary, he shall run in the king's grievous displeasure.[4] It seems plain from this phraseology that the persons unnamed were highly placed, whom the ordinary process of the law would not touch, members perhaps of the council itself, though we cannot identify them and do not know whether they backed a successful or an unsuccessful candidate.

I have been criticised for suggesting that the commons under Richard II and Henry IV were credulous and willing to be led.[5]

[1] *Plumpton Correspondence*, pp. 48–9. Similarly the Colchester members reported that the bill ' sore was questioned with ' (*Red Paper Book of Colchester*, p. 64). For the attainders, see *ibid.* and *Rot. Parl.*, vi. 275–8.

[2] So the Duchess of Norfolk writes on behalf of ' our right welbelovid cosin and servaunts, John Howard and Syr Roger Chambirlayn '. That this was to gratify Howard can hardly be doubted, since, at a hint that he was not *persona grata* with the gentlemen of the shire, he was as ' wode as a wilde bullok ' (*Paston Letters*, iii. 34, 39). However, he was elected.

[3] E. 13/146, mm. 36, 43, 46*b*.

[4] *Ordinances of the Privy Council*, vi. 246–7 ; *Rot. Parl.*, v. 450–1, no. 39.

[5] *Ante*, 4th Series, xxvi. 64. If read in their context, however, it will be seen that these words were carefully limited in their application (*John of Gaunt and the parliamentary representation of Lancashire*, pp. 33–4).

Doubtless these are relative terms, but in this connection they appear to be apt. There is no need for a long catalogue of instances in which one or other of these adjectives seems applicable. Let me recall three. The assumption made in 1371 that a tax of 22s. 3d. a parish would yield £50,000 postulates the existence of well over 40,000 parishes and involves an error of nearly 400 per cent. The knights of the shire could have, at least, tested this assumption by applying their local knowledge, but they let it pass without challenge.[1] In impeaching Michael de la Pole, the commons may have been unduly credulous or unduly influenced, but they can hardly be said to have been neither.[2] Of the preposterous justification advanced by Henry IV before parliament when claiming the throne, Richard, duke of York, used words we need not seek to better: 'his saying was only to shadow and colour fraudulently his said unrighteous and violent usurpation and by that mean to abuse deceivably the people standing about him'.[3] I fear that in parallel circumstances the commons showed to no greater advantage throughout the fifteenth century. Not, of course, that in any parliament they were all of like mind. But their wranglings and disputations took place behind the closed doors of the common house. The picture drawn by the satirist in *Richard the Redeless* so closely resembles the glimpses Edward Hall gives us of the commons under Henry VIII[4] that we have every reason to believe it to be a faithful, if comically exaggerated, representation of their proceedings throughout the fifteenth century. There they are: the old hands and the new, talkative, muddle-headed, somnolent, silent, rash and prudent, bold and timid, some serving the interest of the court, some the interest of their masters, some their own interests; everyone is there, down to those who blab the secrets of the house.[5] Yet these debates, however much became known of them outside, were private discussions, as indeed the commons' debates still technically are. That speech there was, in a measure, free may be an important truth, if we look to the future that

[1] *Rot. Parl.*, ii. 303–4. For a discussion by the commons of the number of parishes in England, see *Hall's Chronicle*, p. 656.

[2] See the commentary of Stubbs (*Constitutional History*, ii. 495–9) and of Tout (*Chapters in Mediaeval Administrative History*, iii. 413–14), supplemented by that of N. B. Lewis in *English Hist. Rev.*, xlii. 402–7.

[3] *Rot. Parl.*, v. 377, no. 17.

[4] See his accounts of the parliaments of 1523 and 1529 (*Chronicle*, pp. 652–3, 655–7, 764–8, 774–81, 784–6, 788–9). Of the latter parliament Hall was a member and his account of the commons' proceedings is that of an eyewitness (*Bulletin Inst. Hist. Research*, ix. 174–5).

[5] The relevant passage is now conveniently reprinted, together with a modern version, by Miss Cam in *Liberties and Communities in Medieval England*, pp. 230–1, 233–5.

parliament had before it. But freedom of speech in the common house did not mean freedom of speech in open parliament. There the speaker rarely spoke other than acceptable things: if not always acceptable to the king, acceptable to the lords who, for the time, were his masters.[1]

[1] The medieval protestations of the speaker referred to speech in parliament, that is, before the lords. The process by which the speaker's petition became one for freedom of speech in the commons' own house has been traced by Professor Neale in 'The Commons' privilege of free speech in Parliament', *Tudor Studies*, pp. 257–86. It is not until 1451 that there is an overt claim to the commons' 'freedom to speak and say in the house of their assembly' and then the claim is not made by the speaker (*Rot. Parl.*, v. 337). That this freedom, in so far as it existed, was very limited is sufficiently indicated by the resentment displayed against tale-bearers. They are mentioned, not only in *Richard the Redeless*, but also by the speaker in 1401, who asked the king to disregard them (*ibid.*, iii. 456). Already in 1376 the commons were apprehensive lest the secrets of their house should be divulged and, at the instance of Peter de la Mare, they took an oath to keep their own counsel (*Anonimalle Chronicle*, p. 80). However, tale-bearing to the king continued and it is mentioned by Edward Hall, who specifically names Thomas Cromwell (*Chronicle*, pp. 775, 788). Reticence on any subject affecting the king was, in any case, a mere matter of prudence so long as the clerk to the commons was a chancery clerk, whose first duty was to the king and who might well disclose unguarded words: for these clerks, see Pollard, 'The mediaeval under-clerks of parliament', *Bulletin Inst. Hist. Research*, xvi. 65–87. But free speech was not to be expected even in the king's council, as Fortescue remarks (*Governance of England*, p. 145) and as is implied by the order of 1426 'that every man have full freedom to say what that him thinketh' (*Proceedings of the Privy Council*, iii. 215; *Rot. Parl.*, v. 408).

SOME ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF CHANTRIES IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

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Macaulay paid every schoolboy the compliment of attributing to him an omniscience which a man of learning might well envy; in what I am about to say this afternoon I fear that I may be going to the opposite extreme and expounding as new, facts with which some of my audience may have been familiar from their youth up. But if I make this mistake, I must plead in extenuation the way in which the medieval chantry has so far been treated. For, whilst almost every other aspect of medieval life has been studied as, at least to some extent, a European phenomenon, the chantry, though its prevalence throughout western Europe has been well known and its importance in the life of the later middle ages generally recognized, has been studied as a matter of local, or at most of national, history, and in many cases antiquarian or genealogical interests have been allowed to obscure the broader ecclesiastical and constitutional questions which it raises or helps to elucidate.

It was in the hope of making some slight contribution towards an understanding of some of these questions that the present paper has been prepared; but I am fully aware that what I have done is only a beginning, and that the conclusions to which my researches have so far led may be in even greater need of revision than are those of most pioneers. For the work has been much hampered by war-time conditions, rendering impossible intercourse with continental scholars whose help and advice would have been of great value, and making inaccessible much manuscript material which should be examined before final conclusions can be reached.

Professor Hamilton Thompson has well said that, 'in a certain sense the chantry idea was at the root of all mediaeval works of piety'.[1] And for that reason it is often difficult to determine whether a given foundation should or should not be considered as a chantry, but the term as understood in medieval England, and as it will be used here, meant any foundation, whether temporary or permanent, the main object of which was to provide daily or weekly services,

[1] A. Hamilton Thompson, *English colleges of chantry priests*, Ecclesiological Soc., viii (New Series), part ii, p. 92.

primarily masses, for the souls or the good estate of particular individuals.

The stages by which the chantry developed have not yet been satisfactorily traced, and its evolution seems to have differed somewhat in different places, but it almost certainly had its origin in an extension of the practice of establishing anniversaries, which was common in many parts of western Europe well before there is any evidence of the existence of chantries.[1] The latter begin to appear in France towards the end of the twelfth century ; in England and the German towns usually somewhat later ; from the middle of the thirteenth century onwards, their number increased rapidly in all these countries. For, when once the idea of founding chantries had gained a place in men's minds, it is easy to see that this would speedily become one of the most popular forms of piety, since in no other could the men of that age find such a combination of spiritual and temporal advantages.

The Church's increasing emphasis on the mass, particularly after the decision of 1215 in favour of transubstantiation, was leading many to adopt the view which Robert of Edwinstowe, a chancery clerk of Edward III, expressed in the preamble to the foundation deed of the chantry which he established in his native town.

> Amongst other means of restoring fallen humanity, the solemn celebration of Masses, in which for the well-being of the living and the repose of the departed, to God most High, the Father, His Son is offered, is to be judged highest in merit and of most power to draw down the mercy of God.[2]

To people with such views of the mass and a lively consciousness of their own need of the divine clemency the possibility of providing that such services should be said in perpetuity, especially for their souls, must have been irresistibly attractive.

A further cause of the popularity of the chantry was that it offered to the individual by far the fullest means of giving permanent expression to his tastes and feelings. How far the foundation deed was actually the work of the founder it is, of course, hard to say. Many people who provided for chantries in their wills seem to have been content that their executors should ordain as they thought fit, and there is evidence that some who founded chantries whilst they were still alive similarly

[1] Alfred Schultze, ' Stadtgemeinde und Kirche im Mittelalter ', *Festgabe für Rudolph Sohm* (1914), p. 113 ; W. Kothe, *Kirchliche Zustände Straszburgs im 14. Jahrhundert.*

[2] *Trans. Thoroton Soc.*, 1904, p. 80.

committed the arrangement of details to some trusted friend.[1] Moreover, if, as was usually the case, the chantry was to be served within an existing church, the consent of the rector would be necessary, and he would thus be in a position to impose conditions, as might also those who were about to assume responsibilities for the new chantry; thus there is often a striking similarity between all the chantries founded in the same church. Yet, in spite of all this, much was left to the individual founder; he named the saints in whose honour the masses were to be celebrated; he decided which of his relations and friends should be specially prayed for, and by what prayers; and he could even prescribe the precise words in which his priest should bid those hearing the mass to add their prayers for the founder's soul.[2]

Occasionally, too, some minor regulation seems to express a private whim or predilection. The founder of a chantry in Southwell Minster, for example, desired that his priest should sometimes say and sometimes sing his mass ' (quandoque cantando quandoque legendo) according as the Lord shall inspire him to the greater excitement of the devotion of those hearing him '.[3] And Marquard von Ladenburg, a chantry priest of Worms, required that the chaplain of the chantry for which he provided in his will should daily celebrate his mass ' illa hora qua in choro Cristi fili dei vivi cantatur . . . ut graves et infirme persone missam eo cercius valeant invenire '.[4]

More frequently the cantarist was required to say his mass at daybreak or before sunrise in order that labourers and servants might attend before going to their work, whilst the services of the chantry priests in the parish church of Doncaster were so arranged that a mass was celebrated every hour from five o'clock till ten.[5] All this shows clearly that the chantry masses were intended to be heard by a congregation; and the provision of additional masses which the faithful might attend,

[1] *Cartulaire de l'eglise Notre-Dame de Paris*, ed. M. Guérard, iii, 226.

[2] *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Worms*, ed. Heinrich Boos, ii, 634. ' Wir wollen auch und seczen off dem selben priester der da zů yederczit ist, daz er in allen sinen messen, die er sprechen und lesen sal als vorgeschriben stet, uber dem altar nach dem offertorio sich sal umbkeren gen dem volke und sal offenlichen mit bescheidenlichen worten důn ein gedechtnisse mit soszlichen worten: Lyeben kynt! helffent mir biden unsern herren got vor der erbern frauwen sele Else Moren, von der gude dise messe gestifft und gemacht ist, und vor altfordern selen und alle glaubigen sele, das sich got uber sie erbarme und yn gebe daz ewige leben und sprechent yn zů droste und zů helffe eyn ygliche mensche ein pater noster und ein ave Maria.'

[3] *Visitations and memorials of Southwell Minster*, ed. A. F. Leach, Camden Soc. N.S. xlviii (1881), 180.

[4] *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Worms*, ii, 355.

[5] *Yorkshire chantry surveys*, ed. W. Page (Surtees Soc., 1892) i, 175.

a matter of real importance when the daily hearing of mass was a common practice, no doubt constituted the chantry's chief service to the community.

Besides the spiritual purposes which the chantry was expected to fulfil, it offered temporal advantages of which our medieval ancestors were not unmindful. At a time when practically all ecclesiastical patronage was regarded less as a moral responsibility than as a means of providing for relations or dependants, the practical wisdom of providing for one's soul by creating a new benefice which could at the same time give a comfortable living to a needy kinsman or pay the salary of a secretary must have been obvious. In Bremen, Luneburg and other German towns, a principal motive for the founding of chantries seems to have been the creation of ecclesiastical preferment for the benefit of the clerical members of the family,[1] and I have found as many as five kinsmen of a founder named as having the right to hold the new chantry in succession.[2] In England, this tendency was less marked, but there are a number of cases in which the patrons are directed to give preference to members of the founder's family,[3] and it would appear that some temporary chantries had as their main object to provide for some clerk or domestic chaplain whose employment would otherwise have ended abruptly with his master's death.[4]

Founders who were priests, at least on the Continent, often

[1] Emma Katz, *Mittelalterliche Altarpfründen der Diozese Bremen in Gebiet westlich der Elbe*, pp. 23, 24; Georg Matthaei, *Die Vikariestiftungen der Luneburger Stadtkirchen im Mittelalter und im Zeitalter der Reformation.*

[2] *Hessische Urkunden aus dem Grossherzoglich Hessischen Haus und Staats-Archive*, ed. L. Baur, iii, 101: 'Preterea dicti manufideles ordinaverunt, quod magister Conradus, frater dicti quondam Johannis, idem beneficium habere debebit, cum vero morte eiusdem magistri Conradi vel alio quocumque modo vacauerit, tunc, Petrus, filius quondam Elizabeth, sororis dicti quondam Johannis, ipsum beneficium habere debebit, cum vero idem vacauerit, ex tunc Johannes, filius Margarete, sororis prefati quondam Johannis, id idem beneficium debebit obtinere, postquam autem ipsum iterum vacauerit, ex tunc Sieglo, filius Alheidis, similiter sororis quondam magistri Johannis prenotati, ipsum beneficium obtinere debebit, cum autem idem vacauerlt, tunc Zeyssolffus, filius Sophie de Flersheim, prefati quondam Johannis cognatus, dictum beneficium habere debebit.'

[3] Associated Architectural Societies' *Reports*, xxxvii. 59; *Trans. Thoroton Soc.*, xvii. 70, 71.

[4] What seems the clearest example of this is the following passage from the will of William Cawod, canon of York and Ripon, dated February 1420. 'Item volo quod d'ns Joh'es Schyrburne, capellanus mecum commorans, celebret pro anima mea et animabus omnium parentum et benefactorum meorum omniumque fidelium defunctorum in Ecclesia Ebor. si ibidem me mori contigerit, per quinquennium prox. post mortem meam, nisi eum interim promoueri contigerit, percipiendo annis singulis ipsius quinquennij centum solidos nomine stipendij sui annualis.' *Memorials of Ripon*, ed. J. T. Fowler (Surtees Soc.), iv. 191.

went a step further and arranged that they themselves should be the first to hold the newly created benefice. This practice probably had its origin in the founder's desire to make the necessary arrangements himself instead of entrusting them to his executors; but, to bestow the requisite endowments on the chantry might, if he were not rich, leave him insufficiently provided for. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, a priest named Simon de Inkenegate, who had already established one chantry in the church of Therouanne, made over the rest of his possessions to that church on the understanding that he was to have their fruits during his lifetime, but that immediately after his death a second chaplain was to be instituted.[1] About 1269, another French priest, Matthew de Civiliaco, during an illness which proved to be fatal, made a will according to which, after the payment of his debts and some legacies, what appears to have been most of his property was to be used to found a benefice or chantry which he reserved to himself if he should recover.[2]

A still more curious arrangement is recorded in a fourteenth-century entry in the Urkundenbuch of the city of Worms. This sets forth that John called Krug and Alheid his wife, citizens of Worms, had left by will certain rents for having a daily mass in the parish of St. Lambert; but as the rents were insufficient for the support of a priest, John son of Wigand, citizen of Worms, had assigned to the dean and chapter of Worms, the patrons, 127½ pounds (*CXXVII cum dimidia libra hallensium*) for the purchase of additional annual rents for the benefice. The dean and chapter in return had conferred the benefice on the said John so that when he had been promoted to priest's orders and had celebrated his first mass, he should possess the benefice, and celebrate the mass at an altar in the said parish at such a time as the incumbent of the church should appoint, but should in no wise intermeddle in the other business of the parish. In the meantime and also after the death of the said John, the incumbent should collect the revenues and should have a fit priest *ad hospicium* as his fellow. This priest should be required to aid the incumbent in performing the services in the church, hearing confessions, visiting

[1] *Cartulaires de l'eglise de Terouane*, ed. Th. Duchet and A. Giry, pp. 91–3.

[2] *Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris*, p. 104. 'Item, voluit et precepit quod de omnibus conquestibus suis et de quinto hereditatis sue fundetur sive instituatur unum beneficium sive capellania in ecclesia Parisiensi, quam capellaniam sive beneficium sibi retinet et reservat, si, per Dei gratiam, ipsum Matheum contingat recuperare corpoream sanitatem; si vero Deus eum ad se vocare voluerit, ordinavit et voluit quod magister Stephanus de Castaneto, clericus noster, dictum beneficium seu capellaniam habeat et optineat . . .'

the sick, and ministering the sacraments, when and as often as should be necessary, but should receive nothing in prejudice of the said church and parson.[1]

I have so far discovered no definite evidence of similar practices in England, though a cantarist at Ripon who had augmented the revenues of his chantry was, in consideration of that fact, and of his good service to the archbishop of York, exempted from the choir service to which he was bound by the terms of his foundation.[2] Also at Borough Green, in Cambridgeshire, the incumbent of a recently founded chantry bore the same name as a priest who had helped to found it.[3] The practice of founders serving their own chantries was extremely common in parts of Germany, where lists of benefices compiled for purposes of taxation frequently mention numerous chantries whose chaplains were also their founders.[4]

But whatever may have been the advantages, material or spiritual, which the founder hoped to derive from his chantry, he could not escape the realization that the perils to which it would be exposed would be constant and grave. The monasteries and collegiate churches were almost certain of survival by reason of their corporate character; the parish churches, though often neglected and despoiled, would be maintained because of the daily needs of living people which they served; but what was there to protect the little benefice, founded, in most cases for a single chaplain, and therefore having no continuous existence, from the ravages of time and the sloth or unscrupulousness of priest or patron? Anxiety on these matters is reflected in almost all chantry foundation deeds, in the minute regulations by which it was sought to guard against them. Naturally these regulations were mainly concerned with three matters which were almost inextricably intertwined, the administration of the endowments, the patronage, and the conduct of the cantarist.

The manner in which chantries were provided for varied considerably from country to country and from place to place, and much further research will be necessary before the causes

[1] *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Worms*, ii, 195, 196.

[2] *Memorials of Ripon*, ed. J. T. Fowler (Surtees Soc.), ii. 136–7.

[3] Extracts from the register of Bishop Bourchier, published in the *Ely Diocesan Remembrancer*, 1902–3, p. 181, and 1903–4, p. 20.

[4] 'Registrum subsidii clero Thuringiae anno 1506 imposito', ed. Dr. Ulrich Stechele (*Zeitschrift des Vereins fur Thüringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, N.F. II, 1882). 'Vicaria noua sita in parrochia Sancti Andree in Rudolffstadt habet 18 Sexagen. apud Consulatum ibidem. Dni Iohannis Bleszers primi possessoris et fundatoris' (p. 69). 'Vicaria *noua* trium regum Sancti Andree et Elisabeth habet 12 florinos, D. Doctor Ioh. Schoner fundator et primus possessor' (p. 12). Other examples *passim*.

of these divergencies and their importance in ecclesiastical and national history can be fully understood. Enough, however, has already become apparent to warrant, or even to require, some discussion here, if only as a means of stimulating further investigation.

Professor Karl Frölich, who, in his study of the legal forms of the chantries in the North German towns,[1] has done more than any other scholar to elucidate this matter, has shown pretty conclusively that in the district with which he was concerned three distinct types of chantry can be differentiated. First, in time, came what may be called the chaplaincy. For this, the founder granted property to a church on condition that henceforth daily or weekly masses were celebrated for his soul; the chaplain who was hired to perform these services occupied much the same position as the chaplain who was hired to assist the rector or vicar in the performance of his ordinary parochial duties. Like them, he was entirely subject to the incumbent, at whose pleasure he could, like them, be dismissed without any legal process. Moreover, the property that had been given for the chaplain's support was merged in the general possessions of the church.[2] Such an arrangement naturally gave little security to the chaplain and little control to the founder and his heirs, and the need to overcome these disadvantages gradually led to the development of a second form, the *commenda* or *Befehlung*. This came much nearer to establishing a separate benefice, since its endowments were kept separate from the goods of the Church and very often administered by others than the parson, most commonly the local secular authorities, the town council. The priest who held such a *commenda* was in one sense in a similar position to those who held other benefices *in commendam*. Not having been canonically instituted, he had no guarantee of permanent possession. But while the conferring of a rectory or other benefice *in commendam* was, in origin at least, a temporary arrangement, this was intended to be the permanent form of the chantries, so that, though from a financial point of view a separate benefice had been established, its holder, lacking ecclesiastical institution, should, like the hired chaplain, be removable at the will of the patron.[3]

This arrangement probably gave the patron all that he could desire, but from the point of view of the serving chaplain and of the ecclesiastical authorities generally it can hardly

[1] Karl Frölich, 'Die Rechtsformer der Mittelalterlichen Altarpfründen', *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, LI (iii) (1931), Kanonistische Abt., pp. 457–544.

[2] *Ibid.*, 503–8.

[3] *Ibid.*, 511–12.

have been satisfactory; since it denied security of tenure to the cantarist, and, in many cases at least, revived that secular control over ecclesiastical affairs against which the Church had, for centuries, been at war. And so, largely owing to ecclesiastical pressure, the *commenda* tended to give place to the full *beneficium* or *Lehn*, to which the cantarist was instituted, as was a rector or vicar, and from which consequently he could be removed only by proceedings in the church courts.[1] But local custom and feeling were too strong for the Church's triumph to be complete; and as time went on the line between these two types of chantry became increasingly indistinct, the holder of the *commenda* becoming more secure in his tenure, and the patron or his representative, acquiring greater influence over the holder of the *beneficium*.

To what extent there were similar distinctions of form in the chantries of south Germany, France or England, it is not yet possible to say, but I have already found a good deal to suggest that the same differences existed elsewhere in fact, if not in name. Of the type which Professor Frölich's records call the chaplaincy, there are numerous English and French examples, largely from the thirteenth century, but continuing throughout the middle ages. But in England, such chaplaincies were usually, if not always, established in monastic or collegiate churches, and often the endowments given for them were not intended to add to the number of clergy already attached to the house, but merely to bind one of them to celebrate specified masses especially for the benefactor. For example, in 1406, an indenture was made between the dean and chapter of Wells and Walter Wyncaulton, one of the canons which began by reciting that Walter had given a hundred pounds to the vicars of the cathedral 'and furniture for an altar to be set up at his cost before the image of the Holy Cross in the church of Wells' and, in recompense for these and other benefactions, ordaining that a perpetual vicar in the said church, to be nominated every Saturday at vespers by the principals of the vicars' hall,

> shall daily during the ensuing week celebrate a mass immediately after the first stroke of prime, for the said Walter, Ralph de Salopia, late bishop of Bath and Wells, the parents, friends and benefactors of the said Walter, taking at the end of his course 12d. for his pains.[2]

[1] Karl Frölich, 'Die Rechtsformer der Mittelalterlichen Altarpfründen', *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, LI (iii) (1931), Kanonistische Abt., pp. 511–12.

[2] *Calendar of the manuscripts of the dean and chapter of Wells* (Hist. MSS. Comm.), i. 378.

Precisely similar arrangements are recorded in the cartulary of Notre Dame de Paris.[1]

With regard to the other two forms of chantry which Professor Frölich discusses, the *commenda* and the *beneficium* in its fullest sense, both English and French records provide numerous examples of the latter. Such a benefice was usually founded by a deed granting the endowments to the first chaplain and his successors and specifying to whom the patronage was to belong. Such cantarists would normally be in as complete control of the property of their benefices as were the rectors of parish churches, and like them were responsible to their successors for waste or dilapidations. That reparations were at least occasionally exacted is shown by a case in which the holder of a chantry in the church of St. Gervais, Paris, sued the executors of his predecessor who was alleged to have impoverished the chantry, and recovered against them.[2]

The equivalent of the *commenda*, a term which occurs neither in the French nor in the English chantry records, is less readily identified. In both countries, however, a great many chantries were established which conform to neither of the two types just discussed. These were provided for by grants of property to one or more persons, very often a corporation or the holders of some office, on condition that out of its revenues they maintained a chantry, paying a specified stipend to the cantarist and seeing that he performed the prescribed services. The priest who undertook to serve a chantry of this kind would, it seems, be in as little need of canonical institution as would a domestic chaplain, and, although his service at an altar within an existing church would necessitate his compliance with the general regulations of that church, he would be bound mainly by the rules laid down in the agreement under which he had accepted his post. Such an arrangement gave to the priest only what security of tenure the founder had thought fit to allow, but this was often considerable as many founders ordained that their chaplains were not to be removed except for specified breaches of the regulations.

As an example of a chantry of this type may be quoted that which John Weston by his will, dated 18 July 1407, founded in the church of St. Mary at Hill, in London. After the death of his wife, a tenement, of which the details are given, was to go to the parson, churchwardens and parishioners of the church

[1] *Cartulaire de l'eglise Notre-Dame de Paris*, iv. 115–17, 52–3.
[2] *Ibid.*, iii. 123–4.

> to pay of the Issues & profites of the said tenement . . . yerely for evermore vj marc sterlynges to the help of the susteynyng of a preest, an honest man, to syng dyuyne service in the said Chirch . . . at the awter of seynt John Baptist there, for my Soule & for the soule of the said Johane my wyf, & for the soules of our ffaders & moders & of all those soules that we be bound to pray for, & for all christen soules.

The property was also to provide for various distributions on the day of Weston's anniversary and a small annual sum for the repair of the church. The churchwardens by the oversight of ' two other honest men of the parish ' were to manage the property and to maintain it well and competently. The priest, whose duties are briefly enumerated, was to be chosen by the wardens with two other worthy men of the parish, ' and yf the same preest so chosen unhonestly behave hym ', he is to be removed and put from his service by the said churchwardens and parishioners, and another honest priest chosen in his stead, ' And so to doo from tyme to tyme as often as such caas shall hap '. Weston further provided that if these trustees

> wilfully defayle in doyng & fulfillyng of my willes . . . or that they otherwise translate or chaunge the said tenement, . . . than . . . the forsaid tenement . . . shall goo & remayn to the Mayre or Wardeyn & Comenaltye of the Citee of london & to their Successors, to the use & sustentacion of the brigge of london, & to fynde an honest Preest of newe . . . to syng dyuyne service for evermore daily in the Chapell of london Brigge. . . .' [1]

Here it will be observed that the churchwardens and other parishioners had the duty both of appointing the chaplain and of removing him in case of misconduct, nothing being said about the intervention of any ecclesiastical authority. Even the parson seems to have had nothing to do with the choice of the chaplain.

It will have been noted too, that the tenure of the property, which it was clearly to the Church's advantage to hold, was made conditional and that a powerful lay corporation which could be counted on not to neglect its rights was immediately to become the beneficiary in case of any neglect on the part of the original trustees. By this system of providing for a chantry by granting to trustees property with an annual rent somewhat in excess of the chantry's estimated cost and providing one, two or even three substitutes to whom the endowments were to pass in the event of any failure to perform the obligations imposed, most Londoners and many Englishmen

[1] *The mediaeval records of a London City church* (*St. Mary at Hill*), ed. Henry Littlehales (E.E.T.S.), pp. 10–13.

elsewhere endeavoured, in the majority of cases successfully, to make their foundations secure.

These chantries, often referred to as 'Services', are, I think, the nearest approach to the type of benefice which Professor Frölich calls the *commenda*. At any rate, in a somewhat different way, they seem to have achieved the same purpose.

Of the French chantries that I have so far been able to examine, the greater part would seem to have been foundations of this type, but with the difference that the trustee was commonly an ecclesiastical corporation, with the result that, though the chaplain might be subject to as close supervision as his fellows in England or Germany, it was always ecclesiastical supervision. This fact, which is doubtless to be explained by the greater degree of authority which the Church enjoyed in France, renders the history of French chantries somewhat less interesting, since it excludes them from the conflict of lay and spiritual influence which elsewhere is such an important feature of their history.

For in both England and Germany, the maintenance of chantries by trustees led to a remarkable degree of secular control over ecclesiastical affairs. In many towns both of north and south Germany, the usual trustees were the *Rat* or the wardens of the parish church, who seem often to have been appointed by the *Rat*.[1] Here the usual method of founding a chantry was to give or bequeath a sum of money for the *Rat* to invest and pay the chaplain's stipend out of the proceeds. The choice of the priest, too, usually lay with the *Rat*, and its position as both patron and paymaster gave it an authority over the cantarists which neither the parson nor his ecclesiastical superiors could hope to rival, and so the *Rat* or those appointed by it, in seeing that the chaplains fulfilled their obligations, was led to make and enforce orders on matters which elsewhere would have been reserved for the spiritual authorities. In the early fifteenth century, for example, we find the official of the bishop of Constance confirming an arrangement by which the control of all the priests, except the parson, beneficed in the parish church of Neuenburg was vested in a committee of three, consisting of the parson, the *Burgomeister* and the churchwarden appointed by the *Burgomeister*, with a proviso that in case of a difference of opinion among these three, the will of the majority should prevail. This committee, besides settling such matters as the amount of

[1] Alfred Schultze, 'Stadtgemeinde und Kirche im Mittelalter', *Festgabe für Rudolph Sohm* (1914), p. 129 sqq.

the fines to be paid by cantarists who celebrated masses outside the city for money, had the right to decide on the reasonableness of the causes of cantarists' absence—absence without reasonable cause being an offence which could be punished with deprivation.[1]

Moreover, disputes between the *Rat* and individual chaplains might be brought before secular tribunals. There is a vivid account of one such dispute in the Neuenburg records. It was heard before the council of the city of Basel in 1414, the parties being the *Rat* of Neuenburg and Jacob Wägelin, a priest on whom they had conferred a chantry. The process concerned the administration of the capital of the benefice. The rent in which this had been invested having been repaid by the debtor, the *Rat*, without the consent of the cantarist, had purchased another rent in its place but one to be paid in gold, not in silver as formerly. But since, just at this time, gold became of less value than silver, Wägelin felt that his income had been reduced and had therefore complained of the *Rat* to the Basel authorities. The *Rat* in reply stated that they had no other opportunity of investing the capital and that they could not have foreseen the subsequent diminution in the value of gold. They also complained of the ill-will of Wägelin in bringing the action after they had overlooked so many negligences of his in performing the religious services which the founder of his chantry had prescribed. The Basel council decided that, as there was nothing in the foundation deed about the chaplain's consent in such a case, he had nothing to do with the administration of the property.[2]

The success which the Church in France achieved in keeping the patronage of chantries in clerical hands naturally precluded such intervention on the part of the secular authorities, but there is a hint of a tendency towards the establishment of lay influence in a document of the year 1421. In this, the bishop of Arras approved the plan of one Jean de Sacquespée, a citizen of Arras, of founding a chantry of the annual value of forty pounds of the money of Paris, to be paid out of the town funds. The patronage of this chantry was reserved to the founder and his heirs, and in the event of the failure of heirs was to be exercised by the bishop and the dean and chapter of Arras alternately ; but it was provided that,

> if in the future there should be any defect in the service of this chantry, whereby a mass is not celebrated daily in the said

[1] *Oberrheinische Stadtrechte*, ed. W. Merk (Neuenburg am Rhein), Part II, iii, pp. 149–61.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 162–3.

chapel, the Mayor and Scabini, having sought and obtained our licence, or, in our absence, that of our official, may sequestrate or cause to be sequestrated two shillings for every day of default from the salary of the chaplain, the money to be spent on masses.[1]

It is interesting to note that here, as in the German towns, the funds from which the chantry was to be maintained had been entrusted to the mayor and town council, but their authority over the holder of the benefice was limited by the fact that they had not been entrusted with the patronage. That ecclesiastics might obtain the patronage of chantries through pressure, and contrary to the wishes of the founders, is brought out clearly in an item in the cartulary of Notre Dame de Paris. This relates that Brother Peter de Palude, a Dominican, came to the bishop of Paris on behalf of Jean de Houtri, a citizen of Paris, with a request that the bishop would allow Jean and his heirs to exercise in perpetuity the rights of patronage of two chantries originally founded by Jean's parents and which he and his wife were 'founding or re-founding'. When the bishop entirely refused this request, Brother Peter pleaded that at least Jean and his eldest son might have the patronage for their lives, but the bishop could in no way be moved to grant even this petition, the utmost that he would concede being that Jean or his heirs might have the first presentation to the chantries, but that all future presentations were to belong to the bishops of Paris.[2]

In England, though many citizens of London made the mayor and corporation the ultimate trustees of their chantries, the foundation of chantries under the direct control of the local secular authorities remained comparatively rare. Besides a few such foundations in London, we find a number in Bristol and Hull, and they occur also at York, Pontefract, Canterbury, and elsewhere. The control exercised at Bristol by the mayor seems to have been as complete as that of any German *Burgomeister*, and included the right or duty of summoning the cantarists before him soon after his assumption of office in each year to swear faithfully to perform the duties of their chantries as laid down in the terms of their foundations.[3]

Why, since the custom was known and effectively practised, so few chantries came under the supervision of the towns in England it is not easy to see. Perhaps the custom of appointing

[1] *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame-des-Ardents à Arras*, ed. Louis Cavrois, x. 177–181.
[2] *Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris*, ed. M. Guérard, iii. 226–8.
[3] *Ricart's Kalendar*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, p. 76.

a succession of trustees, which I have seldom noticed elsewhere, was found to provide an even better guarantee. Doubtless it was largely due to the lesser relative importance of the English towns and to the existence of a comparatively strong central state, which, by its enforcement of obligations, gave to the founders and their heirs much of the security which in Germany had to be sought from the local authorities. As early as 1285, the Second Statute of Westminster decreed that land or rent given for the maintenance of lights, chantries or other pious purposes could be recovered by the grantor or his heirs if the obligations were not fulfilled,[1] and cases recorded in the Year Books and inquisitions concerning the alleged cessation of chantries show that the statute was not without effect.

All these powers which the non-ecclesiastical authorities exercised over the chantries in Germany and England were, of course, derived from the rights of private property and the State's determination to protect its subjects in their enjoyment of these rights, but the effect was to bring many matters which the Church would have preferred to have kept entirely within her own jurisdiction, not merely within the sphere of lay influence, but under the direct control of the secular state. German writers, particularly Alfred Schultze,[2] have seen in this the source of an important influence on the course of the Reformation; and in England too, where they had no direct influence on this event, it is not unlikely that the habit of laymen and of the State of controlling these ecclesiastical institutions may have helped to prepare men's minds for that complete control of the Church which the Tudors were to establish.

[1] *Statutes of the Realm*, i. 92.

[2] Alfred Schultze, 'Stadtgemeinde und Kirche im Mittelalter', *Festgabe für Rudolph Sohm* (1914); Stadtgemeinde und Reformation (Recht und Staat in Geschichte und Gegenwart).

THE USE OF FRENCH IN ENGLAND IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

The Alexander Prize Essay

By Mrs. Helen Suggett, B.Litt.

Read 16 June 1945

The use of French in England during the later middle ages has frequently been discussed,[1] but rather surprisingly a large body of relevant documents has hitherto been almost entirely neglected. The documents in question throw much light both on the purposes for which French was used in this country in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and on the classes who employed it, and show that its use was more widespread and that it persisted longer than is generally supposed.

The categories of official documents in which French is to be found in the middle ages have long been known. The Chancery enrolments, in particular the Statute and Parliament Rolls, contain a fair proportion of French, though Latin was generally preferred for charters and letters under the great seal, as well as for most other public documents.[2] The first known letters patent in French are of the year 1258,[3] and from that date onwards until the beginning of the fifteenth century, French is to be found in documents relating to the general administration of the country, appointments, foreign negotiations and passports.[4] Letters patent were still occasionally written in French during the reign of Henry V, but only for formal business with foreign powers,[5] and French had not, in fact, been used for more general purposes since the beginning

[1] Among recent publications there may be noted: J. Vising, *Anglo-Norman language and literature*; E. Walberg, *Quelques aspects de la littérature anglo-normande*; M. D. Legge, 'Anglo-Norman and the Historian', *History*, xxvi. 163; R. M. Wilson, 'English and French in England, 1100–1300', *History*, xxviii. 37; G. E. Woodbine, 'The Language of English Law', *Speculum*, xviii. 395.

[2] H. C. Maxwell-Lyte, *The Great Seal*, p. 238.

[3] These are two proclamations in the form of letters patent dated 18 and 20 October 1258. They are enrolled on Patent Roll 42 Henry III, m. 1 (*Cal. Patent Rolls, 1247–58*, pp. 655–6) and are transcribed from other copies in the Annals of Burton (*Annales Monastici*, i. 453–6). The proclamation of 18 October is also in *Foedera*, i. 377–8. Other letters patent of 28 March 1259 communicating to the counties ordinances made by the council are on Patent Roll 43 Henry III, m. 10 (*Cal. Patent Rolls, 1258–66*, p. 19; *Foedera*, i. 381).

[4] Numerous examples are to be found in Rymer's *Foedera*.

[5] *Foedera*, ix (1413–20).

of the fifteenth century.[1] Similarly, French ceased to be employed for letters close at the same period, though French deeds continued to be enrolled upon the dorse of the Close Rolls until 1434.[2] Though Latin was the usual language of accounting, a good number of French entries, mainly letters by or to Exchequer officials, with an occasional inquisition or other exceptional document, are to be found on the Memoranda Rolls of the Exchequer.[3]

It was, however, from the Privy Seal Office that the largest number of official documents emanated. Though the first surviving warrants for the issue of letters under the great seal come from the reign of Henry III,[4] there is no evidence of the use of French for instruments under the privy seal until the closing years of Edward I. Under Edward II Latin and French were used in approximately equal proportions, while under Edward III Latin was noticeably less used.[5] English was not introduced in the Privy Seal Office until the very end of Henry V's reign, and the use of French for authorising the issue of instruments under the great seal was not abandoned until about 1437 ;[6] and though there exists a privy seal writ in French as late as the first year of Edward IV (1461), for some time previously French had rarely been used, except for communications to Gascony or the Channel Islands.[7] The earliest surviving document under the privy seal written in English appears to be a safe conduct issued at Vincennes on 27 August 1422, four days before the death of Henry V.[8] There are, indeed, some grounds for taking the year 1422 as a definite turning-point. In that year the London Brewers' Guild decided to keep their records in English, one of their reasons being that the king had employed ' our mother tongue ' for his letters missive[9] and it is true that the change from French to English had taken place in the Signet Office a few years earlier. In warrants under the signet English superseded French after 1417,[10] though French was and, of course, continued to be, used to some extent in correspondence

[1] It may be added that at least two letters patent of James I concerning Jersey are in French, the warrants being in the same language (Maxwell-Lyte, *op. cit.*, p. 239).

[2] See Appendix V.

[3] For some examples of French documents on the Memoranda Rolls see p. 72 below. For an inventory of 1419, see A. R. Myers, ' The captivity of a royal witch ', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxvi. 98–100.

[4] *Calendar of Chancery Warrants*, i. 1.

[5] E. Déprez, *Études de Diplomatique Anglaise*, p. 11.

[6] H. C. Maxwell-Lyte, *op. cit.*, p. 52 and note p. 53.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

[8] Déprez, *op. cit.*, pp. 35–6.

[9] R. W. Chambers and M. Daunt, *A book of London English*, p. 139.

[10] Déprez, *op. cit.*, pp. 99–100.

with foreign courts. Such of the diplomatic correspondence under the signet as has survived is dispersed and fragmentary, but we know that much of it, in particular letters to the Curia, was in Latin.[1]

It has been necessary to review briefly the use of French for official purposes, but unofficial documents afford more useful data. We may begin with letters and, in the first place, the correspondence of members of the royal family, much of it connected with the administration of their households and estates. Eleanor of Provence, the wife of Henry III, is the first queen whose correspondence has come down to us. Among 144 originals in the Public Record Office, mostly written in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, after the king's death, the majority are in French.[2] Nearly every subsequent queen has left some letters behind her.[3] Most of them are of a semi-official or business character, but a few are of a more personal nature.[4] A portion of the correspondence of Philippa of Hainault supplies us with exceptionally valuable evidence. While the correspondence of other queens is fragmentary, a complete roll of Philippa's letters for the years 1330 to 1336 has survived.[5] There are 331 entries in all, 128 French and 203 in Latin; French and Latin are frequently employed side by side and it is not always easy to conjecture what determined the use of either language. French is used to address the queen's stewards, her receivers, keepers of manors and castles, bailiffs and reeves, as well as persons unconnected with her estates such as sheriffs and widows in charge of children in ward. Among the Latin letters a good proportion were sent to bishops, the remainder being to estate officials to whom it was apparently immaterial whether they received instructions in Latin or French. The letters of

[1] E. Perroy, *The diplomatic correspondence of Richard II* (Camden Third Series, xlviii).

[2] Ancient Correspondence, iii, vii, x, xi, xvi, xxii, xxiii, xxv, xxx, xlvii and xlviii.

[3] For Eleanor of Castile, see Ancient Correspondence, x. 52 and 55, xi. 25, xxiii. 45–51, xxx. 44–7, 50, 52, 53; Margaret of France, xxv. 198–204, xxvii. 96–7, xxviii. 27, 86–7, xxxv. 70, 131, 164, xlviii. 78; Isabella of France, xxxv. 62–5, 111–12; Philippa of Hainault, xxxvi. 107, xxxix. 15, 34, 35, 50, 163, 164, 175, xl. 30–2, 116, 137, xli. 80–7, xlii. 101–2, lvi. 26, 39, 40, 50, 78; Anne of Bohemia, li. 21.

[4] See, for example, the invitation from Margaret, the second wife of Edward I, to the abbot of Ramsey in 1301 to be the godfather of her child, Edmund of Woodstock (Register of Ramsey Abbey, Bodley, Ashmole 1524, fol. 10b–11; printed by W. D. Macray, *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis*, Appendix, p. 373) and a letter from Philippa of Hainault asking the abbot of Glastonbury for a loan of a hundred pounds (Register of Glastonbury Abbey, B.M. Arundel ii, fol. 35b).

[5] P.R.O., C47/9/58. For analysis of contents see Appendix I.

appointment contained in the roll show the same parallel use of the two languages. It is difficult to understand why Latin should be used when appointing employees of such humble status as a messer and a doorkeeper at Rockingham castle, while French was employed in the case of receivers of the queen's gold and green-wax, stewards and constables. The last queen to use French in her correspondence seems to have been Joan, the second wife of Henry IV,[1] although some French petitions from Katherine of France, the queen of Henry V, survive for the period after her widowhood.[2] Margaret of Anjou, the wife of Henry VI, appears not to have used French during her residence in England.[3]

A roll containing the correspondence of the prince of Wales for the year 1304 to 1305 shows an extensive use of French.[4] Here out of a total of 719 letters sent out under the prince's privy seal, 676 appear to have been in French and 43 in Latin, the latter addressed exclusively to the pope, the papal nuncio and foreign prelates: letters from the prince to English ecclesiastics were never in Latin. French was used in addressing both government and local officials: the keeper and purveyor of the wardrobe, justices, the mayors of London and Northampton, the sheriffs of London, Essex and Wiltshire, the bailiffs of the manor of Windsor and of Woodstock, Boston and Salisbury, the constables of Carmarthen and Bristol, the baillis and commune of Brussels and the mayor and jurats of Bordeaux, as well as bankers and merchants such as Amerigo dei Frescobaldi and Baroncino of Lucca. Edward, of course, used the same language when corresponding with Prince Louis of France, the duke and duchess of Lorraine, the count of Savoy, with his stepmother, Margaret of France, his young step-brothers and his sisters. The subject matter of the letters is as varied as the range of correspondents and covers such trifles as the purchase of trumpets and a pair of kettle-drums and the provision of a gown for the prince's laundress as well as the grave issue of his quarrel with his father. That all the correspondents who received these letters were

[1] See B.M. Julius B vi, fol. 54 (two letters written while she was still duchess of Brittany), Vesp. F iii, fol. 5, and Ancient Correspondence li. 41. For a letter written after her widowhood see Register of Lanthony Priory, P.R.O., C115/A3, fol. 95b (1417).

[2] *Rot. Parl.*, iv. 183b and 186b–187a. Both petitions were made in 1422 after the death of Henry V. Two more petitions are also to be found in *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, iv. 48 and 179, dated 1420 and 1433.

[3] C. Monro, *The letters of Margaret of Anjou* (Camden First Series, lxxvi).

[4] *The letters of Edward Prince of Wales, 1304–5*, ed. Hilda Johnstone (Roxburghe Club).

acquainted with French seems indisputable. And while many of them were of high social position—members of a French-speaking aristocracy for whom national boundaries were certainly not cultural boundaries—what is especially to be remarked is that local officials, in England and on the Continent, as well as Italian merchants, were expected to understand a common idiom.

Similar evidence of the use of French during the middle and latter part of the fourteenth century is afforded by registers of the Black Prince [1] and John of Gaunt.[2] The 153 folios of the Black Prince's register for 1346 to 1348 contain less than a hundred Latin documents, the great bulk of the business being conducted in French. In John of Gaunt's registers, which cover the years 1372–6 and 1379–83, nearly all the entries are in French. They are for the most part concerned with the administration of his English estates, the appointment of his officers and the purchase of provisions for his household. In the first register, out of a total of 1812 entries, 69 only are in Latin, that language being employed only for letters patent and for correspondence arising out of the Duke's extensive ecclesiastical patronage. In the second register the French entries number 1073 against 41 in Latin.[3]

From royal households we may conveniently turn to English religious houses, all of which, large and small, commonly used French for less formal documents. The majority of monastic registers contain some evidence,[4] but the most significant, because the most regularly kept, are the letter-book for the years 1351 to 1366 of Walter Monyton, abbot of Glastonbury,[5] and the registers of Lanthony Priory [6] which cover not only the latter part of the fourteenth century but also most of the fifteenth century. The Glastonbury letter-book is especially valuable because a very large proportion of the letters which left the abbey were registered as well as a number of documents received from outside. Of the 439 letters it con-

[1] *The Register of Edward the Black Prince* (P.R.O.). Four parts covering the periods July 1346–January 1348 and February 1351–November 1365.

[2] *John of Gaunt's Register, 1372–1376*, ed. S. Armitage-Smith (Camden Third Series, xx and xxi); *ibid., 1379–1383*, ed. E. C. Lodge and R. Somerville (Camden Third Series, lvi and lvii).

[3] For analysis of the second register see Appendix II.

[4] The more important are those of Battle Abbey (B.M. Harl. 3586), Bury St. Edmunds (B.M. Harl. 230), Christ Church, Canterbury (C.U.L. Ee. v. 31), Ely (B.M. Add. 41612), Evesham (B.M. Titus C. ix), Langley (Bodley 242), Merton (Bodley, Laud 723), Peterborough (B.M. Vesp. E. xxi, xxii, Add. 25288), Rochester (B.M. Faustina C. v), St. Albans (B.M. Tiberius E. vi), Selby (B.M. Cleop. D. iii; P.R.O., D.L. 42/8), Thetford (Bodley, Gough Norfolk 18) and Whalley (B.M. Add. 10374).

[5] B.M. Arundel ii.

[6] P.R.O. C115/A3, A7 and A12.

tains, half are in French and half in Latin.[1] Walter Monyton corresponded with people of all ranks: the king, the queen, the Black Prince, Princess Isabella, the earls of Salisbury and Stafford, Elizabeth de Burgh, William of Wykeham, the chancellor and barons of the Exchequer, the mayor of London, officials on the Glastonbury estates and many others. A good proportion of the Latin letters were, of course, addressed to ecclesiastics: archbishops, bishops, heads of monastic houses and individual monks, including two from Glastonbury studying at Oxford. Bailiffs and reeves appear to have received their orders mainly in Latin and, contrary to the practice observed on Queen Philippa's roll, all letters of appointment were in Latin. On the other hand, communications to higher officials, the chief baron of the Exchequer, the clerk of the Privy Seal, the king's secretary and Chancery clerks, were in French.[2] Normally, replies were in the same language as the letters they answered: for example, the reply to a summons to parliament was in Latin [3] while private correspondence with the Queen or her daughter, Isabella, was in French.[4]

Though the surviving registers of Lanthony Priory omit much of the correspondence that would have been preserved at Glastonbury, they are at least equally valuable by reason of their continuity. They contain relatively little official correspondence and few letters concerning the priory's estates, but a fairly complete record of correspondence with the patrons of the monastery appears to have been kept. In the fifteenth century the countess of Stafford seems to have been an exceptionally faithful correspondent, whether it was to give the prior first hand information of Henry V's campaigns in France,[5] the latest news about the peace negotiations and the king's proposed marriage,[6] or merely to thank the prior for a gift and say that she and her children were well.[7] The first English letters do not occur until 1424, when two were registered: one from the duke of Gloucester and the other from the earl of March.[8] In 1426 there are two English letters from the countess of Stafford,[9] one from the duke of Bedford [10] and one from the prior to members of the duke's council with

[1] For analysis see Appendix III.

[2] When on one occasion letters in Latin were sent to all these officials it may have been merely a matter of convenience, since a letter in the same terms was being sent to the archbishop of York, then chancellor. B.M. Arundel ii, fol. 19b.

[3] *Ibid.*, fol. 14b.

[4] *Ibid.*, fol. 35b–36 and fol. 65b–66.

[5] P.R.O., C115/A3, fol. 106b.

[6] *Ibid.*, fol. 130.

[7] *Ibid.*, fol. 129b.

[8] *Ibid.*, fol. 166b.

[9] *Ibid.*, fol. 179.

[10] *Ibid.*, fol. 188b.

their reply.[1] The countess of Stafford, however, continued occasionally to use French for nearly ten years longer, a warrant to one of her parkers being entered in 1429 [2] and two letters patent in 1435.[3]

More fragmentary sources afford similar evidence of the continued use of French. Of particular importance is the French formulary compiled by John Stevens, about the year 1420,[4] containing some 400 letters from the last years of the fourteenth century and early years of the fifteenth until 1412. Stevens borrowed material from the files of several government departments, including the correspondence of Henry of Monmouth, and made use of the correspondence of two archbishops of Canterbury, Henry Despencer, bishop of Norwich, the Holland family and others. Not only does the formulary afford examples of French correspondence of extraordinary range and variety, but it is clear that since Stevens intended his formulary to be used, he looked forward to the continued currency of French for many years.

At the time, however, when the bulk of the letters in Stevens' formulary were written, English was already beginning to supersede French, and it may well be asked how far the use of French in correspondence had become conventional. Until the end of Richard II's reign manuals of epistolography, such as those of Thomas Sampson who taught at Oxford in the second half of the fourteenth century,[5] appear to assume that French would be employed between all grades of society for all purposes. They also assume that the writers would be conversant with the language, for their object was not to teach the rudiments of French but rather the refinements and, in particular, the proper address for every rank. There is no doubt that these manuals were actually employed as a guide in the composition of some of the original letters that have come down to us.

So far as government departments were concerned, convention played a large part in the choice of the language to to be used on any particular occasion, and it was doubtless partly due to the force of tradition that French continued to be used in the offices of the Privy Seal and Signet until well into the fifteenth century. Official tradition was necessarily strong in the households of queens and princes—Philippa,

[1] *Ibid.*, fol. 189–189b. [2] *Ibid.*, fol. 199.

[3] *Ibid.*, fol. 247b.

[4] *Anglo-Norman letters and petitions from All Souls Ms. 182*, ed. M. Dominica Legge (Anglo-Norman Text Society no. 3).

[5] Cf. H. G. Richardson, ' Business Training in Medieval Oxford.', *American Historical Review*, xlvi. 259.

Isabella, Edward of Carnarvon, the Black Prince, John of Gaunt—but it cannot be argued from this that French was not the language which unofficial correspondents instinctively preferred throughout the fourteenth century. Examples of private letters, in which the convention of an unfamiliar language would have been an absurdity, survive for the whole of that century and even beyond. It would be hard not to give the name familiar to some of Prince Edward's letters preserved in the roll of 1304 to 1306,[1] or to such letters from the abbot of Glastonbury as those written to a knight inviting him to hunt,[2] to princess Isabella sending her fish to replenish her stewponds [3] and to Elizabeth de Burgh asking permission to send a carpenter to copy her horse-mill which had greatly impressed some of his monks,[4] or again to letters to the prior of Lanthony thanking him from his gifts of lampreys and cheese.[5]

By the turn of the century, however, the use of the French or English was becoming a matter of personal preference and, for some people, French was evidently a language of convention rather than of preference. At the close of Richard II's reign four letters from the Scottish earl of March were copied into the register of the prior of Durham. They dealt with the election of a new prior to Coldingham, Durham's most important dependency, the first two, dated 22 February and 17 April, being in French, and the remaining two written in English, dated 22 April and 23 May.[6] It was the same earl who wrote to Henry IV in 1400: 'And noble Prince mervaile yhe nocht that I write my letters in Englishe, fore that ys mare clere to myne understanding than Latyne or Fraunche'.[7] Richard

[1] See in particular Edward's letter to Louis of France, accompanying gifts of a palfrey and greyhounds: 'Nous vous enveoms vn gros palefrai trottant . . . e vous enueoms de noz crocuz leurers de Gales que bien ateindroient vn leure sil le trouassent endormaunt . . . E, cher cosin, si vous volez dautres choses qui sont en nostre pais de Gales, vncore vous enverrom bien des gentz sauuages, si vous volez . . .' (*The letters of Edward Prince of Wales*, p. 11).

[2] B.M. Arundel ii, fol. 10. [3] *Ibid.*, fol. 27. [4] *Ibid.*, fol. 15.

[5] P.R.O., C115/A7, fol. 74b (from the earl of Buckingham) and fol. 180 (from the duchess of Gloucester); C115/A3, fol. 95b (from Henry IV's widow). In addition, C115/A3, fol. 129b, contains a letter from the prior to the countess of Stafford, dated 11 September 1419, thanking her for her gift of copes, and regretting that the hot, dry summer has prevented him from sending her cheese.

[6] B.M. Faustina A vi, fol. 90–90b. It has unfortunately been impossible to ascertain the precise year in which these letters were written.

[7] F. C. Hingeston, *Royal and historical letters during the reign of Henry IV, 1399–1404*, i. 24. Another letter in English from a Scottish magnate, James Douglas, to Henry IV, written in 1405, has been erroneously dated 1384 in S. Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 142–4: see J. H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV*, ii. 275–6, n. 1.

Kingston, the dean of Windsor, experienced a similar difficulty in 1403, when he wrote to Henry IV, giving news of the success of the rebels at Hereford, in a curious mixture of French and English, his French failing him completely in the valediction.[1] A warning should perhaps be given against taking seriously the protest of the English ambassadors in 1404 that they understood French no more than Hebrew.[2] English diplomacy was commonly conducted in French; on this occasion the ambassadors evidently thought they should have been addressed in Latin.

The change from French to English in correspondence obviously took place less speedily in some circles and households than in others. Rather curiously the first known English letter was written from Florence in 1392–3 by the mercenary captain Sir John Hawkwood [3] and very few English letters are known before the fifteenth century.[4] On the whole, it seems safe to conclude that noble families and religious houses offered more resistance to the English vernacular than commercial circles and the lower ranks of society.

The evidence afforded by petitions and bills is less satisfactory than that of private correspondence and it need be but briefly reviewed. Very few petitions have been preserved before the reign of Edward I, and these few appear to be all in Latin, but from early in that reign petitions have survived in large numbers. Although Latin continued to be used on occasion, notably in some of the petitions put forward by churchmen, the vast bulk were written in French and continued to be so written until French gradually gave way to English, a process that began before the middle of the fourteenth century and was not completed until a hundred years later. Though Latin was the language usually associated with the clergy in the middle ages for their more formal documents, it is remarkable that in the thirteenth, fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, their petitions were almost invariably framed in French, presumably because those who were to

[1] Hingeston, *op. cit.*, p. 158. 'Jeo prie a la benoft Trinitee que vous bone vie, ove tresentier sauntee a treslonge duree, and send zowe sone to ows in helth and prosperitee . . .'

[2] *Ibid.*, Preface, pp. lxxxvii–lxxxviii, and p. 397. 'Vestras litteras scriptas in Gallico, nobis indoctis tanquam in idiomate Hebraico, apud Monstreueille xxmo die Octobris, recepimus Calisii eodem xxmo die de sero, inter cetera continentes qualiter . . .'

[3] C. L. Kingsford, *Prejudice and promise in fifteenth-century England*, pp. 22–3.

[4] The next earliest English letter known appears to be that from Joan Pelham to her husband of 25 July 1399 (Laetitia Lyle, *A mediaeval post-bag*, pp. 267–8, from Collins' *Peerage*, viii. 95–6) though it is possible that the two letters from the earl of March mentioned above may be earlier.

consider the petitions were familiar with that language.[1] The decline of French in parliamentary petitions appears to have been very rapid in the decade 1433 to 1443. English was still comparatively rare in 1433, when French petitions which came before Parliament numbered 49 and English petitions 10. In 1439 the proportion was 24 French to 19 English, but in 1444 no French petitions were recorded, whereas those in English numbered 26. There was, however, one final flicker from the dying embers in 1447 when two French petitions were presented.[2] A similar course can be traced for the petitions which were considered by the Privy Council.[3] No English petitions are known to have reached the Council during the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV and Henry V, and until 1436 English only occurred sporadically. The two last French petitions to come before the Council were written in the spring of 1441. We may fairly conclude that although convention delayed the substitution in petitions of English for French the time lag was not great, perhaps ten or a dozen years.

More instructive than petitions are French legal instruments. The conventional language of the law was Latin, and French was used not for show but for convenience. We could therefore have no better evidence of the widespread use of French in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries than the French deeds which, in their original form, are to be found in the great public collections and in muniment rooms all over the country, and, in greater numbers, in transcript in monastic cartularies and registers and endorsed on the Close Rolls. How soon after the Conquest French was used for legal instruments must remain in doubt, and if it was employed to any extent it has left practically no trace amongst the thousands of Latin deeds which have survived for the twelfth century. A Jewish ' starr ' of the year 1215 is, in fact, the earliest known private deed in French [4] though some earlier official documents

[1] The earliest known English petition is an enclosure to a Privy Seal warrant to the chancellor : it is from John Drayton and Margery King, his wife, and is dated 5 February 1344. The next does not occur until twenty years later, it is from the abbot and convent of St. Mary Graces, 1364, and there is a third from the folk of the Mercerye dated 1386. After this last date a number of English petitions are to be found (R. W. Chambers and M. Daunt, *A book of London English, 1384–1425*, preface, p. 9 and pp. 272–3, 285, 288, 292–3, and *Rot. Parl.*, iv. 22, 57–61, 158–9).

[2] See Appendix IV for table covering the use of French and English in petitions from 1414 to 1447.

[3] *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England, 1386–1542*, ed. Sir H. Nicholas.

[4] *Starrs and Jewish Charters* (Jewish Historical Society), i. 12–20. An instrument by Stephen Langton of 29 January 1215 is endorsed on the Charter Roll of 16 John, but this is hardly a private deed (*Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 209).

are known.[1] In spite of the great losses that have taken place, it is evident that French was used for all kinds of transactions, though in certain categories, such as the bond, it was of rare occurrence, a fact which points to the truth, for which there is abundant evidence, that Latin was preferred for the more solemn and binding instruments.

French deeds connected with the sale and leasing of land are, however, met with very frequently, and the lease of a tavern at the head of London Bridge in 1319,[2] and the sale of a Norfolk marsh in 1383 [3] are typical examples. Still, it was more usual to employ French for subsidiary instruments and as many as three French documents relating to a single transaction may be found, as in the case of a grant, letters of attorney and a demise of October 1389 concerning the manor of Plaitford.[4] The use of French for grants of office has already been mentioned: broadly speaking, the practice of royal and noble households was to use French and the practice of monastic houses to use Latin. Deeds granting pensions and other rewards were also drawn up in French, as were indentures of war, marriage contracts and marriage licences required by wards, deeds of manumission and pardons.[5] Contracts for the sale of goods and for undertaking specific services form one of the most interesting classes of French deeds. They include agreements with carpenters for the erection of shops,[6] weirs [7] and watermills,[8] contracts for the construction of tombs and funeral herses,[9] for the provision of a clock,[10] for the painting of the great image of the apostle at St. Paul's Cathedral [11] and for the supply of tiles for Westminster Abbey.[12] Inventories connected with the sale or transfer of goods were also frequently in French. Typical examples are an inventory of the contents (including books, vestments, plate, rings and seals) of coffers and baskets

[1] See H. Richardson, 'A twelfth-century Anglo-Norman charter', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxiv. 168, and H. Suggett, 'An Anglo-Norman return to the Inquest of Sheriffs'. *ibid.*, xxvii. 170.

[2] H. T. Riley, *Memorials of London and London Life, 1276–1419*, pp. 131–2.

[3] Magdalen College, Oxford, Muniments, Beighton 114.

[4] P.R.O., Ancient Deeds, E40/3233, 3234 and 3241.

[5] Examples of all these types of deeds are to be found in T. Madox, *Formulare Anglicanum*.

[6] Historical MSS. Commission, *Ninth Report*, Appendix, p. 20.

[7] Queen Philippa's Roll, P.R.O., C47/9/58, m. 2.

[8] Magdalen College, Oxford, Muniments, Southwark 33.

[9] For the marble and metal work for the tomb of Richard II and Anne, of Bohemia, see *Foedera*, vii. 795–6; for Anne of Bohemia's herses, see R. Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments*, i. 170*, and for an alabaster tomb for Katherine Green and her late husband, see R. Willis, *Architectural nomenclature of the Middle Ages*, p. 79.

[10] Cotton Charters xxi, 24. Printed in *Archaeological Journal*, xii (1855). 173.

[11] Historical MSS. Commission, *Ninth Report*, Part i, Appendix, p. 30.

[12] E. H. Pearce, *The Monks of Westminster*, p. 106.

in the treasury of Wells Cathedral, once the property of bishop John Droxford;[1] a list and valuation of the stores belonging to the works at London Bridge and delivered to the new wardens in 1350 by the outgoing wardens;[2] an account of jewels sold to Master John Cambridge, executor of Michael Northburgh, late bishop of London, in 1363;[3] a list of jewels lost by the earl of Huntingdon in 1377;[4] and inventories of armour formerly belonging to the dukes of Gloucester and Arundel and passing to Richard II by reason of their forfeiture.[5] It has been said that bonds were almost invariably in Latin, but the defeasances, which were drawn up at the same time and represented the real engagement between the parties, were commonly in French, doubtless for the reason that the parties preferred to express their intentions in a manner they could readily understand. At the same time, it was necessary for the bonds to be carefully worded and based on approved, that is Latin, precedents since if they became operative they might need to be enforced by an action at law.[6] French was also extensively used for wills from the thirteenth century onwards and there have survived French wills of members of all classes of society who had sufficient property to make its disposal a matter of consequence, from princes of the blood to country squires.[7] The latest will known to me is that of Philippa, duchess of York, dated 12 March 1431.[8] English wills had by then already begun to make their appearance in small numbers, the earliest one as yet discovered being of the year 1387.[9]

Since the survival of many French deeds seems to have

[1] P.R.O., L.T.R. Memoranda Roll, 4 Edward III, E368/102, m. 21. Also in K.R. Memoranda Roll 159/106, m. 154.

[2] H. T. Riley, *op. cit.*, pp. 261–2. It is interesting to note that a similar document drawn up on the same day, between the same people, namely, an inventory of the articles in the chapel of London Bridge, was in Latin. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 263–4.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 313.

[4] P.R.O., Coram Rege Roll, Michaelmas 1377, K.B. 27/467, m. 36 schedule.

[5] P.R.O., E163/6/13.

[6] A few examples of French bonds have survived, for example, one for the payment of forty shillings to the master of the hospital of St. John at Oxford in 1344 (Magdalen College, Oxford, Muniments, Willoughby 63).

[7] French wills are numerous and very scattered. Many are to be found in the following collections: J. Nichols, *A collection of all the wills of the kings and queens of England; Testamenta Eboracensia*, ed. J. Raine (Surtees Society, iv); *Testamenta Karleolensia (1353–1386)*, ed. R. S. Ferguson (Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society); *Calendar of wills proved and enrolled in the Court of Husting, London, 1258–1688*, ed. R. R. Sharpe; *The Register of Henry Chichele*, ed. E. F. Jacob (Canterbury and York Society), vol. ii.

[8] E. F. Jacob, *op. cit.*, ii. 457–9. Two wills of 1429 are also to be found in the same register, they are those of Thomas Colpeper (pp. 382–6) and John, duke of Norfolk (pp. 472–4).

[9] C. L. Kingsford, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–5.

largely depended on chance circumstances, it is not easy to estimate the relative proportion of French and Latin. However, it may be instructive to note that in the collections of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century deeds belonging to the Duchy of Lancaster the proportion of French deeds is as high as eleven per cent,[1] while in the *Formulare Anglicanum* compiled by Thomas Madox the proportion is about one in twenty.[2] Such figures probably convey a quite erroneous impression. Queen Philippa's clerks used Latin or French almost indifferently, with the result that grants, indentures and other deeds on the roll of 1330–6 number 85 in French as against 109 in Latin.[3] French is much more prominent in the second of John of Gaunt's registers, covering the years 1379 to 1383, where there are only 27 legal instruments in Latin as against 253 French deeds.[4]

As far as is known the use of English for deeds did not begin until nearly the end of Edward III's reign, and though for many years English deeds are rare,[5] by 1440 they have become quite usual. On the other hand, legal instruments are still found in French in the 1430's : in 1434 one was entered on the Close Rolls [6] and another in Lanthony Priory register, the latter being an indenture between the countess of Stafford and the cellarer of Lanthony, notifying the receipt by him of a chalice and other silver vessels.[7] Furthermore, a fifteenth-century formulary [8] contains two surprisingly late examples, which are, without doubt, copies of actual documents. One is a grant of an annuity by William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, dated 1450,[9] and the other a deed of John Arundel, concerning

[1] P.R.O. Lists of Ancient Deeds, Series D.L.

[2] Further evidence is afforded by a series of 16 fourteenth-century (1316–32) French deeds relating to Norfolk preserved at Magdalen College, Oxford (Hickling 110–25) in which the same names recur as grantors, grantees and witnesses, and by a series of 36 deeds at Corpus Christi College, Oxford (Ca Kl Ev. 12–35 and 38–49) witnessing sales of land by one Simon Furneux, from 1334 to 1358. These two series point to the fact that losses must have been very great and that many documents considered of minor importance must have perished.

[3] See Appendix I.

[4] See Appendix II.

[5] A deed of 1376 is stated to be the oldest private legal instrument in Middle English (cf. J. E. Wells, *A manual of the writings in Middle English*, p. 442). In 1397 an indenture in English was made at Dunfermline abbey, in 1398 two at Haudenstank and one at Clackmabanestane (Chambers and Daunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 278–9). In 1404 two more occur : a bond by John Stewart, knight, to Ralph, earl of Westmorland, and an indenture drawn up at Pontefract castle (*ibid.*, p. 283). No defeasance has been discovered earlier than 1422 (*ibid.*, p. 307).

[6] For table of French deeds endorsed on the Close Rolls, see Appendix V.

[7] Register of Lanthony Priory, P.R.O. C115/A3, fol. 238b.

[8] B.M. Royal 17 B xlvii.

[9] *Ibid.*, fol. 111b–112. It can hardly be a coincidence that, as stated below, William de la Pole wrote poems in French.

a debt of £26 due to a London skinner, dated 12 March 1456.[1] These are the latest French deeds that have so far come to light, but the fact that it was considered worth while copying them as models for future use, suggests that the compiler of the formulary expected other occasions to arise when French would be the language preferred by the parties.

The foregoing survey has shown the variety of uses to which French was put in the later middle ages, and something further may be said of the preference shown by the various classes of society for that language as opposed to English. It has already been remarked that, though the bulk of formal official documents were in Latin, certain categories were over a long period mainly written in French. The minutes of the council and the proceedings of parliament, the king's warrants to the chancery, the exchequer and other departments were normally in French: in other words, the less formal side of official business was transacted in French, as well as occasionally the more formal side. Indeed, it would have been difficult to proceed in any other fashion, for the executive work of government fell chiefly upon men who were, or had been, king's clerks; at the council itself, where decisions were taken, the clerks shared responsibility with nobles, who though well educated by the standard of their time and rank, were usually illiterate in the technical sense that they could not, with any fluency, speak, read or write Latin. Their ability to read and write French is difficult to estimate, but such fragments as are available suggest that this was not a rare accomplishment. Henry de Montfort wrote his father's will with his own hand,[2] a poem is credited to Edward II,[3] while his cousin Henry of Lancaster wrote a pious work of some length 'Le Livre de Seyntz Medecines'.[4] The poems of John de Montacute, earl of Salisbury, were praised by no less competent a critic than Christine de Pisan [5] and the tradition was continued until the middle of the fifteenth century by William de la Pole, who was also a poet.[6] Secretaries were, however, usually employed by persons of rank for writing both letters and legal instruments, though their employers doubtless dictated the substance when something more than the normal routine was involved. The

[1] B.M. Royal, 17 B fol. 21.

[2] C. Bémont, *Simon de Montfort* (1930), pp. 276–8, with facsimile.

[3] It consists of 15 eight-line stanzas. Cf. P. Studer, *Modern Language Review*, xvi. 34 ff.

[4] Ed. E. J. Arnould (Anglo-Norman Text Society, no. 2).

[5] *Lavision-Christine*, ed. Sister M. L. Towner (Catholic University of America), p. 165. The poems do not seem to have survived.

[6] His poems in English and French have been edited by H. W. MacCracken in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, xxvi. 141–80.

level of culture reached by royal and noble ladies is more difficult to determine: in some cases it seems probable that they could read but perhaps not write. Queen Isabella possessed French romances and works of piety,[1] and from bequests of similar books in wills of the period, it would appear that some ladies could read for pleasure. It seems likely, too, that these ladies read some of the numerous letters and petitions addressed to them. As far as the higher ranks of the secular clergy were concerned, while Latin predominated in episcopal and other registers, this was the work of clerks and there is no reason to suppose that in their personal relations they differed from other members of the families from which they sprang. Some private letters of one prelate, Henry Despenser, bishop of Norwich, are known to us, and they are among the best examples of French as it was written in England in the closing years of the fourteenth century and the beginning of Henry IV's reign.[2]

It has already been said that the contents of monastic registers indicate that replies from religious houses to the king were generally determined by the language in which the official communications were couched. It is plain, moreover, from a formulary drawn up for the Cistercian abbey of Combe about the year 1340, that monks normally expected to conduct correspondence with secular persons in French, for the formulary comprises model letters for use in writing not only to the king, but to sheriffs, judges, relatives and friends.[3] Other sources make it clear that correspondence between religious foundations and noblemen and ladies were almost invariably in French and that, when the change came in the fifteenth century, it was to English. It may be remarked also that while letters in French from one ecclesiastic to another might be hard to find, deeds to which all parties were clergy were not uniformly drawn up in Latin. Three surviving examples in French are an agreement between the prior of Merton and one of his canons, about the year 1390,[4] another between the bishop

[1] T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the administrative history of Mediaeval England*, v. 249.

[2] M. D. Legge, *op. cit.*, prints seven of his letters (Nos. 44, 55, 58, 62, 64, 297 and 318), the most remarkable of which is his letter of condolence to his niece, Lady Despenser, after the execution of her husband in 1400 (no. 62). Other scattered letters show the bishop of Durham corresponding in French with his chancellor in 1430 (Letter book of Thomas Langley, bishop of Durham, B.M. Add. 27401, fol. 2) and the bishop of Hereford's vicar-general writing in the same language to a noble about some tithes due to the prior of Lanthony, c. 1371 (Register of Lanthony Priory, P.R.O., C115/A12, fol. 63).

[3] Marquess of Bath, Ms. Longleat 37, fol. 114–114b.

[4] Register of Merton Priory, Bodley, Laud 723, fol. 30.

of Lichfield and the abbot of Leicester in 1403,[1] and an indenture of arbitration drawn up between the abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester, and the prior of Lanthony in 1417.[2] In our period nuns generally were unfamiliar with Latin and their learning was similar to that of laymen of their class.[3] They, therefore, used French for their correspondence, though the number of surviving letters from nunneries is comparatively small.[4] They also used French for other purposes and, as we should expect, the trousseau to be provided by a novice entering Blackborough priory in the fourteenth century was set out in French,[5] whereas the list of a young man's requirements on entering Tonbridge priory was in Latin.[6]

It is hardly necessary to show that the language of the law was French, a French that in the earlier fifteenth century had not yet degenerated into a mere technical jargon, nor to repeat that the king's clerks, until well into that century, were necessarily proficient in French. These are commonplaces which have been regarded as consistent with the disappearance of French in social intercourse, at some time in the fourteenth century, in all circles below that of the Court. But the truth seems to be that country gentlemen, and the middle classes generally, used French whenever all but the most formal writing was to be done. Some examples have already been given,[7] and little need be added. Husbands wrote to their wives during absences from home, giving instructions regarding payments and the management of their estates.[8] Wives—unless their letters were invariably written for them[9]—were equally capable of expressing themselves in French and their

[1] Register of Lichfield Cathedral, Bodley, Ashmole 1527, fol. 79b.

[2] Register of Lanthony Priory, P.R.O., C115/A3, fol. 109b–111b. It is interesting to note that an English version follows on fol. 111b–114.

[3] E. Power, *Medieval English nunneries*, pp. 247–9.

[4] See, for example, in the register of Blackborough Priory, a letter from the sub-prioress and convent to Roger Scales, asking permission to elect a new prioress (B.M. Egerton 3137, fol. 167b).

[5] B.M. Egerton 3137, penultimate flyleaf, dorse. Printed in *B.M. Quarterly*, xi. 65.

[6] Bodley, Kent Roll 6 (w). Printed in Preface to *Calendar of Charters and Rolls preserved in the Bodleian Library*, ed. W. H. Turner, p. x.

[7] See above, p. 68.

[8] An interesting example of this type is preserved in Magdalen College, Oxford, Muniments (Multon 71a). It is a farewell letter from John Multon to his wife in 1367, before his departure to Prussia. The final words are in English: 'Here have my lovee and keppe it well'.

[9] The earl of Kent stated in 1330 that a letter was written for him by his wife: 'fut escripte de la meyn sa femme' (A. Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum* (Rolls Series), p. 255). Agnes, the wife of John the Organist *Gallicus*, who taught the Scottish orphan Tomlin his letters (literatura) in 1311–12, was also presumably able to write (Bentley, *Excerpta historica*, p. 278).

letters gave details of estate management and domestic matters, and sometimes contained intimate touches which could have been plain only to the recipient.[1] Other letters such as one from a step-father to his step-son promising to send a cape, providing the boy will specify the kind he wants,[2] and another to John of Gaunt from his daughter Philippa's nurse, warning him of the hostility of certain Franciscans and Dominicans at Cambridge,[3] show that the writers could express their thoughts in French without difficulty and were by no means content to string together a number of conventional phrases.

What is true of the gentry seems also to be true of the commercial classes. Mention has already been made of contracts with skilled artisans: carpenters, builders, masons, clockmakers and painters. In most of the contracts every detail to be performed was minutely described, doubtless to enable each item to be checked as the work progressed. It is therefore to be expected that the official correspondence of towns was conducted in the language that townsmen understood. Our best evidence comes from London. The mayor and aldermen used French not only when writing to large towns such as Bristol,[4] Winchester,[5] York,[6] Edinburgh [7] and Dublin,[8] but also when corresponding with the bailiffs of small communities such as Alton,[9] Erith,[10] Horsham,[11] Maidenhead [12] and Woburn.[13] Similar testimony to the use of French by the commercial classes lies in its employment for proclamations to the citizens of London until the close of the fourteenth century,[14] and pointing in the same direction are the lengthy ordinances of 1389, written in French, for the government of the town of Shrewsbury, which were directed to be read on days when elections took place,[15] while at Southampton the

[1] One such letter, in the muniments of Corpus Christi College, Oxford (Surrey Gl. cap. 8(1) 11), ends thus: 'A Deu, tresdouté sire, qe vous sauve et gard et vous defend de mortele peché, et vous salue par celuy enseigne qe le surcote fust detray sur nostre lit mes puys savey pur quey ceo fust.'

[2] P.R.O., Ancient Correspondence SC1/51/67.

[3] *Ibid.*, SC1/43/81: printed by F. J. Tanquerey, *Recueil de lettres anglo-françaises*, pp. 168–9. It is not perhaps due to chance alone that this letter quotes rather formally a proverb: 'Et pur ce, tresnoble seignur, qe l'anxien proverbe dit en ceste maner qe "celui qu'est avant garnys n'est pas honys"', when a model letter by Thomas Sampson, conveying a warning about an ambush, begins in a similar manner: 'Nesqedent pensant q'il est par temps garny n'est pas hony' (C.U.L. Ee. iv. 20, fol. 159).

[4] R. R. Sharpe, *Calendar of letters from the mayor and corporation of the city of London, A.D. 1350–70*, pp. 3–4, 7–8, 11–12, 22, 50–51, 54, 61, 171.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 68. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 56. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 155.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 63. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 154. [10] *Ibid.*, p. 111.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 32–3. [12] *Ibid.*, p. 124. [13] *Ibid.*, p. 59.

[14] A proclamation in English occurs in 1387; cf. H. T. Riley, *op. cit.*, p. 500.

[15] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1396–9*, pp. 472–5.

water-bailiffs' accounts were kept in French as late as 1428.[1]

Nor must another important class be forgotten. On large estates, whether belonging to secular magnates or to ecclesiastics, the actual management of a manor or a group of manors was in the hands of a steward, who was normally a layman. Before occupying such a post he would have received a training, very possibly at Oxford, to enable him to write letters, draw up deeds, hold manorial courts, keep accounts and control subordinate officers.[2] Correspondence with his lord and with other persons with whom he came into contact was in French, as were many of the other documents which he found it necessary to read or write. Men of this type were of much the same class as royal officers of similar status, receivers, parkers and foresters, who were expected to understand instructions in French and to send replies if necessity arose.

French was, in fact, associated with all the phases of daily life of fourteenth-century society which had to find expression in writing. Not only was it the means of registering grievances and recording legal transactions, it was also the medium of correspondence of all classes above the humblest, including the clergy, while news letters in French, of happenings at home and abroad, were widely circulated among them up to the end of Henry V's reign.[3] French followed them even in death. From the early years of Henry III, until nearly two hundred years later, many of those who could afford to be commemorated by a tomb or a monumental brass preferred the inscription to be in French rather than Latin. Indeed, the evidence of these inscriptions tallies exactly with other written evidence. While six lines of English verse commemorated Henry Notingham and his wife at Holme-next-the-Sea, Norfolk, about the year 1405,[4] a memorial in Stoke-sub-Hamdon church in

[1] P. Studer, *Supplement to the Oak Book of Southampton*, ii. 9. Professor Studer concluded that French was the language of the seafaring classes generally at this period. Professor Tanquerey came to a similar conclusion regarding the use of French by the commercial classes, but his evidence was drawn from the earlier fourteenth century and particularly from the *Literae Cantuarienses* (*Recueil de lettres anglo-francaises*, pp. xxvi–xxvii).

[2] See H. G. Richardson, *ut supra*.

[3] Typical of such letters are one from the Parliament of Carlisle, 1307 (printed by H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, *English Historical Review*, liii. 436–7), another giving news of Edward III's campaign, 1339–40 (printed by H. Richardson, *Medium Aevum*, x. 20–1), a long letter from a courtier to a noble describing Richard II's reception by the City of London in 1392 (Lanthony Priory Register, P.R.O., C115/A7, fol. 166–166b) and two letters from the countess of Stafford to the prior of Lanthony giving news of Henry V's campaigns in 1418 and 1419 (C115/A3, fol. 106b and 130).

[4] Victoria and Albert Museum, *Catalogue of rubbings of brasses and incised slabs*, p. 12.

Somerset recalled in French the valiant deeds in battle of Matthew Gourney, who died in 1406, at the advanced age of ninety-six.[1] Matthew was perhaps old fashioned, but there are later French inscriptions, though very simple and demanding little knowledge of the language.[2] The latest known to me bears the date 1427 and commemorates John Beaufitz and Isabelle his wife who lie in Gillingham Church: *Christ-Jesu nostre saveour de sa graunde pite de lour almes eit mercy*.[3]

What, then, were the characteristics of this French language which was still used for correspondence and to commemorate the dead in the early years of Henry VI, and lingered on in petitions and deeds until the middle of the century? Was it a Norman dialect which, cut off from its parent stem, suffered progressive debasement or did it bear comparison with the tongue of France? In spite of certain peculiarities of spelling and some uncertainty as regards genders and conjugations, which, together with the introduction of English words, often make the language recognisable as French written in England, gross lapses are less frequently found than might be expected. Though the style may sometimes appear stilted and the construction of sentences involved, contemporary documents written on the other side of the Channel display a similar tendency, which indeed was that of the age. Every piece of information available seems to show that the French used in England was no mere accomplishment, but that it was a true vernacular whose roots had penetrated deeply into all classes of English society who could read and write. To express quantitively the decline in the use of French in England is obviously a matter of difficulty. Records are incomplete, and the rate of decline must have differed considerably among different classes of writers. But perhaps as good an idea as it is possible to get may be obtained from the deeds endorsed on the Close Rolls. In the sixteen years from 1369 to 1384, when French was as extensively used in England as at any period, the number of French deeds so enrolled was 463, an average of 29 a year. In the sixteen years from 1403 to 1418 the number of French deeds was 60, an average of less than

[1] *The Itinerary of John Leland*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, i. 297.

[2] At Cople (Beds.) are the brasses of Nicholas Roland and Pernelle, his wife, c. 1410, and of Walter Roland, c. 1415: see G. Isherwood, *Monumental brasses in the Bedfordshire churches*, pp. 20–1. For a more elaborate inscription at Little Horkesley (Essex), commemorating Sir Thomas Swinburne, see Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments*, i. 152: the date should, however, be 1412 and not 1415.

[3] R. Griffin and Mill Stephenson, *A list of monumental brasses remaining in the county of Kent in 1922*, plate xxii.

four a year. In the sixteen years from 1419 to 1434 the total number is 15, an average of one a year. Thereafter they cease entirely.[1] This evidence is not inconsistent with the testimony of such writers as Trevisa [2] and William of Nassington [3] to the displacement of French by English. The mistake has been to base too sweeping generalisations upon utterances which represent but a narrow circle of experience or which illustrate but a part of a complicated and developing linguistic pattern.

[1] See Appendix V.
[2] Higden, *Polychronicon* (Rolls Series), ii. 159 ff.
[3] ' Speculum Vitae ' in Historical MSS. Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton*, p. 239.

APPENDIX I

Queen Philippa's Roll
(P.R.O., C47/9/58)

DATED LETTERS AND DEEDS

	Letters		Deeds	
Year	French	Latin	French	Latin
1330	1	8	14	16
1331	17	9	28	31
1332	9	6	11	8
1333	4	4	7	8
1334	2	5	9	5
1335	3	16	6	23
1336	2	8	10	16
1337		2		1
1338				
1339				1
Totals	38	58	85	109

The total number of French and Latin documents, including those of which only a note is given, undated documents and illegible items is, as stated above (p. 63), 128 and 203 respectively.

APPENDIX II

John of Gaunt's Register, 1379–83
(Camden Third Series, nos. lvi and lvii)

	Letters and warrants		Deeds	
Year	French	Latin	French	Latin
1376			1	
1377		2		
1378	1		1	1
1379	78		24	1
1380	340	2	68	13
1381	208	8	78	9
1382	153		40	3
1383	129	2	41	
1384	11			
Totals	920	14	253	27

APPENDIX III

Glastonbury Register. B.M. Arundel II

	Out-letters		In-letters	
Year	French	Latin	French	Latin
1351	30	23	2	5
1352	9	6	2	3
1353	20	28	6	2
1354	6	14		3
1355	17	6		1
1356	12	8	5	9
1357	31	11	3	1
1358	3	10	2	5
1359	12	15		2
1360	27	3	5	4
1361	9	12	4	1
1362	7	18		1
1363	7	17		1
1364	2	5	2	2
Totals	192	176	31	40

APPENDIX IV

French Petitions, 1414–47

Year	*Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. iv.				*Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, vol. v.	
	Private Petitions		Common Petitions			
	French	English	French	English	French	English
1414	32	1	26	1	3	
1415	23		35		4	
1416	7		9			
1417	2		8		1	
1418					1	
1419	2		8			
1420			16			
1421	23	2	30		11	
1422	15	1	6		2	1
1423	18	1	12	5	16	5
1424					4	3
1425	12		12	3	1	
1426	18	1	9	4	4	1
1427	6		22	2	3	
1428					3	
1429	2	2	26	8	1	
1430					6	
1431	12	5	17	1	2	1
1432	16	4	13	4		
1433	24	6	25	4	2	
1434						1
1435	1	1	8	4		1
1436	1	6	12	8	2	1
1437					1	1
1438						2
1439	6	7	18	12		2
1440						2
1441					2	9
1442	1	3	12	13		1
1443						
1444		4		22		3
1445						
1446						
1447	1	3	1	8		

APPENDIX V

French Deeds Endorsed on Close Rolls

1369–1406		1407–1434	
1369	23	1407	1
1370	25	1408	4
1371	17	1409	3
1372	22	1410	2
1373	41	1411	2
1374	26	1412	5
1375	36	1413	5
1376	46	1414	4
1377	35	1415	1
1378	24	1416	2
1379	31	1417	1
1380	36	1418	1
1381	21	1419	
1382	34	1420	
1383	27	1421	1
1384	19	1422	2
		1423	3
		1424	3
		1425	
1398	2	1426	3
1399	9	1427	
1400	10	1428	
1401	3	1429	
1402	1	1430	1
1403	7	1431	1
1404	8	1432	
1405	7	1433	
1406	7	1434	1

INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MIDLANDS

By W. H. B. Court, M.A.

Read 16 December 1944

British industry is so wide and varied that there will always be danger of narrowness in studying it in the form of regional history. Local patriotism and the antiquarian spirit judge many details interesting which no one unfamiliar with the district can by any stretch of the imagination find instructive or profitable. Besides, the causes of economic progress or decay, which are, or ought to be, the main object of investigations of this sort, cannot be pieced out wholly from the experience of any one part of the country or any particular industry or group of industries. The most that can reasonably be hoped is that the history of the district chosen will bring into relief some special angle of the general economic problem.

The most obvious feature of midland industry is the enormous range of the industries which have become localised within a limited area. Of course, big changes have taken place from time to time both in the nature of the product and the processes employed. Some of the principal industries of the district to-day were not among its most notable manufactures or were altogether unknown in mid-Victorian times. There was a specially fast and heavy shift in the industrial interests of South Staffordshire and Birmingham, as Professor Allen has shown, in the slack times and depression of the years 1876–86, following the boom of the Franco-Prussian war and the early seventies.[1] In those years, the Black Country finally declined as an important coalfield and as a main centre of iron production. With the working out of the coal and iron ore reserves of the district and the modernising and redistribution of the national iron and steel industry which took place in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a profound change came over the midland trades. Heavy structural engineering followed the new steel industry to the north, while the Birmingham district, from being the centre of a multitude of hardware trades based upon iron, took on increasingly its present-day aspect of a light engineering centre based mainly

[1] G. C. Allen, *Industrial development of Birmingham and the Black Country* (1929), pt. iii, chapters iii and iv.

upon steel, although larger and more active than its former self.

I want to direct attention at the moment not to these modern arrangements but to the Victorian structure which came to perfection round about the time of the war of 1870–1, when it flourished exceedingly until the collapse of trade in 1875—a structure which was beginning to be undermined even then and has now passed out of living memory. There was a sharp distinction in Victorian days between the industries of the Black Country and those of Birmingham. South Staffordshire concerned itself more with the heavy industries and the cruder iron manufactures. It turned out in the early seventies roughly a third of the country's wrought iron and a ninth of its pig iron; upon these, it had built up industries of heavy structural ironwork. The principal small metal trade was the hand-wrought nail, although the district also possessed several intensely localised and flourishing trades of other sorts—chains at Cradley, locks at Willenhall, saddlery and harness ironmongery at Walsall, nuts and bolts at Darlaston, hollow-ware at West Bromwich and Wolverhampton, flint glass at Stourbridge, and so forth. Birmingham competed with the Black Country in some of these products, for example, flint glass, edged tools, and saddlery and harness. But the four main industries of the city were not of the Black Country sort at all; they were the brass and copper trades, the manufacture known as jewellery, which included the output of an infinity of Victorian knicknacks, the making of small arms and the button industry. Other manufactures were metal pens, brass bedsteads and wire goods.[1] Birmingham had applied its capital and skill, it will be observed, not only to products of iron, but also to manufactures in other sorts of metal. Peculiar as this collection of industries may appear to-day, it was highly characteristic of the district and the time and natural enough, judged by the requirements and taste of the age and the local ability to supply what was wanted. It was also highly profitable—the surest indication, as many thought, of what is both natural and desirable—and the foundation of a type of English provincial social life which it is a pity that no leisurely matter-of-fact Trollope has left us a picture of.

The size and the methods of the many firms carrying out

[1] The best contemporary account is to be found in a series of reports collected by the Local Industries Committee for the meeting of the British Association at Birmingham in 1865, edited by Samuel Timmins and published under the title of *Birmingham and the Midland hardware district* (London, 1866).

this wide range of manufactures were almost as varied as the products themselves. Big capital and plenty of power were employed by the pig and wrought iron manufactures and by the owners of the numerous metal rolling mills in the district. But most of the finished manufactures, with some conspicuous exceptions, still depended on a skilful pair of hands and simple tools rather than on power-driven machinery. They were carried on in small workshops. Here a capitalistic organisation of a different kind was common, which turned upon the factor. The functions and authority of the factor varied from trade to trade, but his main responsibilities were to initiate and finance this or that branch of production and to market the goods. There was a combination, therefore, in midland industry between the factory-capitalism which we know so well to-day and the domestic system of production of an older time. But there was also a tendency for the large centralised organisation to gain ground, as against the older methods. In some industries, we read, the large unit had developed not because power-machines had been introduced, but because the processes of making this or that product had been divided among numbers of semi-skilled workers, who required supervision to co-ordinate their energies. In other industries, certain manufacturers with a reputation and market of their own had found it worth while to bring all their work-people together, for the sake of maintaining the quality on which their sales depended and to increase their lead over competitors.[1]

Anyone who is acquainted, however distantly, with the industrial history of the midlands at an earlier date than the Victorian town and district thus hastily described, must be struck by the age and continuity of the industrial processes which still persisted in such vigour down to the middle of last century and beyond. The assumption of some writers that the industries of the midlands go back hardly further than the eighteenth century, is, of course, no more correct than that the Lancashire textiles date from the same age. Both districts have a long record of previous industrial history.[2] Seventeenth-century England took important steps towards an industrial future ; steps so varied and interesting that they may tempt us into supposing them to have been more important than they actually were. So far as the midlands are concerned,

[1] Allen, *op cit.*, p. 446.

[2] For early Lancashire, see A. P. Wadsworth and J. de L. Mann, *The cotton trade and industrial Lancashire, 1600–1780* (1931) ; for the Midlands, W. H. B. Court, *Rise of the Midland industries, 1600–1838* (1938), book i.

the slow but increasing exploitation of the native coal and iron of the district bind together the seventeenth with the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries in an unbroken whole.

Often the continuity has been one of a personal character. The example might be quoted of a family who were continuously interested, as factors, perhaps in the early days as craftsmen also, in the old hand-wrought nail trade from a time well before the Civil Wars until the early years of Victoria. Then the family record finished in a typically nineteenth-century way, for the eldest son sold out and spent most of the capital accumulated over two centuries in setting up as a Warwickshire country gentleman and in railway and joint-stock speculation. I do not believe this sort of personal continuity to have been in the least rare or exceptional in the isolated and homekeeping midlands of pre-railway times.

The continuity of the processes of industrialisation in the midlands can of course be easily paralleled from other parts of the country. It suggests of itself another consideration; which is, what a great deal of industrial progress was possible without the aid either of steam-power or the factory. For the well-known partnership formed in 1775 between James Watt and Matthew Boulton of Birmingham, which began the manufacture of the steam-engine, belonged distinctly to the later rather than the earlier phases of midland industrialisation. A large output over a wide range of industrial products had already been achieved before the steam-engine came to make it larger. It is enough to remember that the district was already one of the most important coal and iron centres in the country, both a large producer and consumer of bar iron. The making of the hand-wrought nail was already what it remained for part of the next century, the most widely spread of the local iron manufactures, while the South Staffordshire specialities, such as locks, saddler's ironmongery and harness, flint glass, and so forth, were well established. The broad outlines of the industrial geography of Birmingham and the Black Country in the mid-nineteenth century, as it presented itself to Carlyle when he visited it in 1824 and Clerk Maxwell [1] in the fifties—travellers with characteristically different views, for the one compared the place to Hell while the other evidently felt the happy scientist's conviction that if this was Hell then it was a very interesting spot—these outlines had been laid down a hundred years before.

[1] J. A. Froude, *Carlyle's early life* (Silver Library Edition, 1896), i. 238–9; Campbell and Garnett, *Life of James Clerk Maxwell* (1882), pp. 168–85.

The wide range of products and the large output achieved before the nineteenth-century phase of industrial life was reached, had comparatively simple roots. Industrial progress, in this as in other parts of the country, depended upon two indispensable conditions; first, the possibility of increasing the output of the products of the region without a proportionate increase of industrial costs, and second, the finding of a market, without which the larger output would have been not worth attaining; for the production methods of a Matthew Boulton would patently have been economic madness for an earlier age. There will be no time to consider here the fulfilment of the second condition, the finding of a market for midland goods. It was an extremely interesting and complicated process, which could be well illustrated from the career of Matthew Boulton; for if Boulton is chiefly famous for the effect of his work upon the reduction of industrial costs through cheap power, he was also, at every stage of his career, both before and after the partnership with Watt, an indefatigable and adventurous, or as some contemporaries thought, crack-brained searcher for markets. In considering the problem of increasing returns in midland industry, I shall assume it to be borne well in mind that the reduction of costs and the sale of the product stood in so intimate a relation to one another as to be little more than the two sides of a single process.

Small-scale enterprise was the main instrument for increasing the return to midland labour through this early period of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries and for the bulk of the industrial output of the district in terms of final products. There were many traces of this still in Victorian Birmingham, with its factors and numerous back-stairs workers. In the previous century it was still more marked, despite the frequency of concerns, especially in the iron industry, which were large for their day and even more of a medium size. The abundance at that date of industrial units of the smallest known type, the family shop, directs our attention to a very interesting phase in the growth of industrialism, which is, to be sure, well known from the side of the textile trades but was no less important for the metals.

One of the principal results of the experiments of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in large-scale industrial organisation, usually described as the industrial revolution, was to create the modern study of all those forms of economy which form the internal economies, in Marshall's phrase, of the individual firm; the problems of management as large

industrial concerns know them to-day.[1] Here again Matthew Boulton and James Watt might serve as example, although their work was outstripped by their successors, the two sons, Matthew Robinson Boulton and James Watt, Jnr. Of the latter it was said in 1930 that there was nothing that Taylor, Ford or other modern experts in scientific management have devised which could not be discovered, at any rate by anticipation, in their work before 1805, while their system of costing was superior to that employed by many very successful firms to-day.[2] Problems of large-scale organisation in industry began to receive, from such men, a degree of attention which in earlier times was more commonly bestowed upon similar questions in the sphere of war or government.

It would be absurd to say that tasks of industrial administration of this sort were new, but steam power certainly threw an altogether new emphasis upon them and gave them a universality which was new. And to that extent, they draw our attention away from and perhaps make us less able to appreciate the industrial problems of ages when large-scale organisations were large by the scale of their own time rather than by that of ours. In the eighteenth century, an engineering firm like Boulton and Watt was unique in the midlands, and large concerns of any kind were the exception rather than the rule. It is clear, therefore, that economies must have been secured in other ways, to account for the large output which Birmingham and the Black Country were disposing of upon national and world markets before the end of the century.

The sources of industrial progress in those days are to be found largely in the region of Marshall's external economies of the industry and in Adam Smith's even larger conception of division of labour,[3] than in that of the skilful management of large works. There were three ways specially in which an output could be secured which was truly extraordinary when compared with the state of industrial technique ruling. They were briefly:

1. by geographical specialisation or, as we say, localisation of industry;

[1] The *locus classicus* for this distinction between internal and external economies is, of course, Alfred Marshall, *Principles of economics* (8th edition, 1920), bk. iv, ch. ix, p. 7.

[2] Professor J. G. Smith, in the introduction to E. Roll, *An early experiment in industrial organisation being a history of the firm of Boulton and Watt, 1775–1805* (1930), p. xv.

[3] On the relations between the ideas of Marshall and Adam Smith on this point, see Allyn Young, 'Increasing return and economic progress', *Economic Journal*, vol. xxxviii (1928), especially pp. 527–9. I must here acknowledge a considerable debt to Professor Young's handling of the subject.

2. by occupational specialisation or division of processes;
3. by a less well-defined process of industrial differentiation, by which whole new industries intervene between the first handlers of the product and the market, so that production becomes more roundabout in proportion as it becomes more efficient, judged by the test of ability to increase output without sending up costs in proportion.

All three processes had a single object, increased returns to human labour, which they approached by different routes. The simultaneous employment of all three methods provides the key to the astonishing diversity, even before the steam-engine came on the scene, of the industrial life of the midlands.

I suppose that the whole concentration of the iron trades upon the coal and iron ore of South Staffordshire might be taken as an example of geographical specialisation. But it may be more profitable to resort to a single industry. The hand-wrought nail trade might appear to be the most generally spread of all the local industries, the one least tied down to locality. There was certainly hardly a district in which nail-making was not at some time or other carried on. Yet this very common trade had a curious affinity for places, down to its last days.

Although there was no division of labour in the production of a single nail, except perhaps the spike-nail, the production of the different types of nail was localised. Dudley, in the heart of the Black Country, produced horse and mule shoe-nails. These require more skill than other nails, and the work was better paid. Rowley Regis turned out rivets, hob-nails and small nails, Bromsgrove all small work, hobs, brush-nails and Flemish tacks, Halesowen large spike-nails, and so forth, throughout the nailing country. The localisation was always changing but was always marked.[1] Striking as the localisation of the nail-trade certainly was, it is in some ways a bad example to quote, for I am not satisfied that I know as well as I should like to know what economic advantages the various types of nail-makers drew from being where they were. One assumes that advantages there were, but it would take a considerable local knowledge to put a finger on them. I suspect that they had much to do with the factoring; that it was as convenient to have one district for which one went for one class of nail, as it is to have different shops or different parts of an open-air market for different products. On the other sides, no doubt, it paid the nailer to stick to the class of nail in which he had

[1] E. I. Davies, 'The hand-made nail trade of Birmingham and district' (Thesis, Birmingham University Library), pp. 3–5.

the most proficiency, and particular classes of work became specialised among particular families and consequently in particular districts.

The specialisation of the nailing districts is only one more instance of the local specialisation which is found over and over again in the midland iron trades, within the general framework provided by the raw materials of the district and the cost of their transport—not only coal and iron but limestone and fire-clay as well—without which it would not be possible to explain the presence in the midlands of industries such as flint-glass making which have nothing to do with iron-working at all. But the attachment to district went on long after the local raw materials had ceased to be of much importance; for if there is not one advantage or one set of advantages in being in a particular place, then there will be another advantage or another set of advantages. Hence industry, once it had come to the midlands, remained, although there was constant change within the district. It does not, of course, follow that every motive behind an enterprise being where it was, was economic. In the days when business was run by partnerships, all sorts of personal incidents, such as quarrels with a former partner, influenced the calculations behind what we now call localisation.

As for occupational specialisation, the first wide growth of industrial occupations in the midlands took place in the century between Queen Elizabeth and Queen Anne, during the first vigorous development of the iron-ore and coal of the district. It was, in fact, nothing more than another aspect of the localisation of iron trades which I have just mentioned under the name of geographical specialisation, except that it was a side to the process of industrialisation which was tied down less to place and natural resources than to the actual processes of manufacture and the constant tendency to divide them among new crafts.

The division of processes had gone far among the established trades by the end of the seventeenth century. It could scarcely have been carried further than among the lorimers or makers of saddlery and saddler's ironmongery—who were important men in a horse-riding age—at Walsall. There, so Dr. Plot tells us, men of four crafts collaborated in the making of the spur. The same habit of specialisation extended to the making of other parts of horseman's equipment, and it was rarely that a man turned from the making of one part to that of another.[1]

[1] Plot gives a detailed description; *Natural history of Staffordshire* (1686) pp. 376–7.

The division and simplification of processes had its logical conclusion, as it has often been pointed out, in the introduction of the machine to take over one process after another. Whether this was the inevitable result or not, the coming in of the machine for manufacture of the final product was only a late stage in the process—in the midlands, mainly a nineteenth-century one—and was preceded by two centuries of growth effected mainly by the increasing skill of the human hand and of simple tools.

By industrial differentiation I mean the peeling off, if the phrase may be allowed, of whole new industries, and especially of those which did not introduce a new product but intervened in the making of an old one between the first handlers of the materials and the consumer. The general effect of these was to reduce manufacturing costs among an immense range of final products. The natural place for such industries to grow up among the midland trades was in the preparation of metals in the early stages, and their successful establishment was one of the prime causes of the competitive success of the midland industries.

A good example of this kind of development would be the introduction of the slitting-mill into the district in the seventeenth century. The poorly paid maker of hand-made nails has already been mentioned as the most universal figure among the metal-workers of the midland counties down to the early nineteenth century. But the extension of the nailer's craft was to no small extent a result of the slitter's success in providing him with the strips of iron which formed his raw material, in the sizes which he required and at a price which enabled the nailer, through the factors, to supply the whole country and the colonies. But the iron slitting-mill was but one development among many in the smelting, hammering and rolling of metals. Other trades owed as much to the copper-roller, who by the eighteenth century rolled metal, as someone grandiloquently said, for all Europe.

The rise of these more roundabout processes of production, of whole industries devoted to producing materials for other producers, and the large plants which were necessary where the materials being used were the metals, has attracted the attention of many good observers and is consequently well known.[1] The growth of big capitalistic enterprise in the primary processes was often highly dramatic. Furthermore, since it progressed by way of the large-scale enterprise, which

[1] See especially the excellent standard descriptions of T. S. Ashton, *Iron and steel in the industrial revolution* (1924), and H. Hamilton, *English brass and copper industries to 1800* (1926).

leaves more abundant records behind it than the handicraftsman or the employer under the domestic system ever did, it is comparatively easy to trace. It is hardly surprising that enterprise of this prominent type has received more attention than the obscure organisation of many of the trades dealing with final products.

Large-scale organisations seem for long to have been almost confined to the primary trades in the midlands, although in such trades they already had a long history behind them when the eighteenth century began. The new thing which the men of that century undertook seems to have been the extension of the method of large-scale organisation to the final products. This development found a well-known support in the increasing use of steam-power at the end of the century, but the large works was destined to come, in some trades, even if steam had never been invented. It was a natural outcome of the methods by which industry had come to be carried on. The constant separation of processes and the complicated nature of some of the products which midland, and especially Birmingham industry, was now turning out, made supervision more and more a necessary task of the entrepreneur. He could no longer content himself with putting the work out and collecting it again. The factory in the Japan trade run by John Taylor at a time a little before the American war shows this trend in business methods. Power of any sort seems to have been unimportant at his works, compared with the need to keep an eye on the details of the work and maintain the firm's reputation for quality, such as it was. But here again the extraordinary and never-satisfied energy of Matthew Boulton made him a pioneer whose labours have far outshadowed the shadowy Taylor. Boulton's factory at Soho became in later days the first home of scientific engineering and the prime cause of the growth of other factories in the midlands and far beyond them, but the document in which Boulton himself sums up his reasons for building the factory in the first instance contains no word about power. The important matter in his eyes is to have the workpeople ' under our eyes and immediate management . . . every day and almost every hour '.[1] The history of the Soho factory shows that while the art of modern factory management, as has already been said, was largely a result of the introduction of steam, it also inherited much from pre-steam days.

[1] From a statement by Matthew Boulton, preserved with other papers relating to his partnership with John Fothergill, in the Assay Office, Birmingham.

The successful introduction of the new technique of power production rested upon a number of economic conditions or prerequisites. These were broadly three in number: an industrial wage-earning class, with an aptitude for the class of work required; an industrial managing class, prepared to tackle the problems of large-scale organisation and already in some degree familiar with them; and a class of industrial investors. The success of the Watt-Boulton partnership came from the fact that owing to the industrial developments which have been glanced at above, all these conditions could be fulfilled. On the other hand, the partners' difficulties in the workshop and the counting-house and perhaps no less with their bankers showed how large and how novel the enterprise was which they had set themselves.

Very solid links have been shown to unite the old and the new forms of industrial enterprise during the eighteenth century in other parts of the country. They seem to have been at least as firm in the north as in the midlands, to judge by the career of such a man as Samuel Oldknow in the cotton industry.[1] There is a resemblance between his movement from one form of industrial organisation to another and that of Boulton, although they worked upon different products and in different generations. The same transition must have been made by many thousands of people. It represented the industrial revolution in a most evolutionary aspect.

One can of course exaggerate the continuity of industrial life. Nature may not make leaps, but men do. And the adoption of steam-power was a leap into the dark for society at large, despite all the forward-lookingness of Boulton and the Scotch caution of James Watt. It was a jump away from centuries of human experience, and no words can be too strong to describe the truly revolutionary side of that great event.

But the continuity, rather than the breaks, of industrial life has been deliberately emphasised in this paper, for a particular purpose. For there was an underlying unity between the new forms of industry and the old, although it was the unity not of a product, or of a single enterprise or industry, but of a continuous economic process.

Thoughtful observers in the eighteenth century itself believed that they had found the key in what they called the division of labour, by which they meant that separation of manual processes which goes to make new occupations. A

[1] George Unwin and others, *Samuel Oldknow and the Arkwrights* (1924), gives the facts of Oldknow's career. The suggested comparison with Boulton is mine, not Unwin's, and he would possibly not have agreed with its validity.

contemporary of Adam Smith, Lord Shelburne, who visited the town in 1766, described its industries in language which, if it had been written a few years later, might have been thought to have slipped out of the draft of the *Wealth of Nations*. ' A button ', he remarks, ' passes through fifty hands and each hand perhaps passes a thousand in a day, likewise by this means the work becomes so simple that, five times in six, children of six or eight years old do it as well as men, and earn from tenpence to eight shillings a week. There are besides an infinity of smaller improvements which each workman has and sedulously keeps secret from all the rest.' [1] One could truthfully add to his lordship's observations that they went for more than buttons, and applied to almost every industry in Birmingham and the Black Country.

The division of labour was an astonishingly fruitful economic conception and obviously throws floods of light on the evolution of the midland trades, among others. But in the casual phrases of Shelburne, as he would have been the first to admit, it was far from being a complete explanation. He thought of it wholly in terms of manual skill, omitting to mention the specialisation of men whose business it is to manage, although the rise of that class in the midlands as elsewhere was one of the most important of all the aspects of the division of labour. And he forgot to specify, what he was certainly not ignorant of, the financing functions of capital.

Since the days of Shelburne and Adam Smith, the functions of capital have received so much attention from thinkers that it would be easy to sketch a quite different explanation of the rise of the midland industries from that given by Shelburne ; one which would lay all the emphasis not on the specialisation of the worker, but on the leadership of the capitalist. This might be termed the Sombartian type of explanation, and indeed Sombart's *Moderne Kapitalismus* contains the best general account known to me of the organisation of industry before the industrial revolution.[2] The organisation in the midlands does not appear to have differed essentially from that of metal trades in other parts of Europe at that time, for example in Germany, and it turned, here as there, upon the organising and financing powers of the capitalist as much as upon the increase of manual skill.

The growing pull of the big capitalist was a feature of midland history, as it has been of industrial development almost

[1] See the whole description, Fitzmaurice, *Life of Shelburne* (1875), i. 402–5.
[2] W. Sombart, *Der moderne Kapitalismus*, Zweiter Band (München und Leipzig, 1928). This volume was published in two separate half-volumes.

everywhere in modern times. But in the trades organised domestically, with the possible exception of the nail trade, the big factor does not appear to have dominated the scene so absolutely as he is said to have done in the contemporary woollen trade of the west of England,[1] and after 1785, when Watt's announcement of rotary motion led to heavy investment in the new form of power, the factory owner multiplied himself with a most notable slowness in the midland trades.

In other words, the operations of the capitalist in this region were comparatively modest and undramatic, at least until the nineteenth century. It is always possible in the earlier period to look over the big man's shoulder at the many lesser persons who were responsible, according to the best of our scanty evidence, for a very important part of the total industrial output. His activity was never so remarkable as to obscure the importance of the working man's growing skill or of the still unexhausted mineral resources of the district. This being the case, there is little temptation to overrate the importance of the capital owner in the midlands, or to interpret his position in the industrial order of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in terms of an inevitable trend towards the high capitalism of the very different world of a later day. The quite different problem appears: how to account in terms of contemporary economic and technical conditions, for the persistence side by side of enterprises of many different sizes, organised in a curious variety of ways.

Our knowledge of the old forms of industry begins to appear at this point most defective and unsatisfactory. A simple description of the rich natural resources of the district, or of the many industrial occupations of its inhabitants, or even of the methods by which the capitalist employer organised his business—although that goes deeper—does not help us very much. The fundamental unity of midland industrial development over two centuries appears in the vast expansion of output, to which many products, many industries and many types of organisation contributed. This increasing mass of goods was its outward and visible sign. But its reality must have been the continuous movement of costs and prices and the relationship in which they stood to one another, as regards any one product or industry or business, at any given time.

We know far more of the external forms of organisation in the midlands than we do of these determining economic relations. Yet upon these the outward forms depended, and

[1] This is the impression created by the account of the West Country trade in the eighteenth century in E. Lipson's *Economic history of England*, ii. 13–69.

without a knowledge of them we know little more than the face of the landscape, without being familiar with the invisible forces which over the long period created it. One is obliged to confess that there is a great deal that is hypothetical about our knowledge of industry at this early period. Presumably the major groups of midland trades were subject to increasing returns over long periods. This must have been so especially towards the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, when war demand, combined with the rapid advance of technique in the iron industry, brought about a swift building up of the iron industry and of many of the subsidiary industries which it fed. There are signs of a fall of costs in the iron trade at that date which might fairly be called revolutionary. But we know little about it and less still of the return to midland resources in the trade in final products.

What is wanted to give fullness and life to our conception of the older forms of industrial organisation is, there can hardly be a doubt, knowledge both statistical and descriptive of the relations between the expansion of output, the efficiency of industry and the size of the concern, if concern it can be called, at different times. There can also be no doubt that the poverty of the material puts out of our reach for ever such studies of this kind as have been made for nineteenth-century industries. It would be impossible, unfortunately, for any one to construct a study of increasing return in the South Staffordshire iron industry for the eighteenth century, similar to the late G. T. Jones's interesting analysis of the Cleveland pig-iron industry between 1883 and 1925,[1] or to attempt to work out the elasticity of return (the ratio between the rate of expansion of the industry and the rate of fall of real costs) in the Black Country coalfield in the same age. The necessary public and private statistics could not be found, quite apart from the formidable technical and theoretical obstacles which stand in the way of such investigations, even when the information exists.

But it is to be hoped that the slow process of the examination of the records of firms, especially of firms of long standing, whose operations endured over substantial periods, and were fairly representative in their scale of the industries to which they belonged, may provide us as time goes on with clues worth having to the general movement of industrial costs and to the returns obtained upon them. The interpretation of such records appears to require, at any rate for important

[1] G. T. Jones, *Increasing return* (1933), pt. iv.

parts of the work, powers more often found among accountants and engineers than among historians. On the rare occasions when men of those trainings have turned their attention to historical problems, the results have sometimes proved most valuable and interesting. Economic historians already owe, for instance, a considerable debt to the Newcomen Society for the history of technology and engineering. The growing popularity of economic history studies may persuade others to undertake similar researches or some historians to find in themselves an unsuspected capacity to deal with figures and technical facts.

The work at any rate would be worth doing. Questions of quantity, such as most of these are, are the breath of life to ordinary industrial human nature ; the size of the pay packet, the dimensions of the profit, the quantity of goods delivered. Reconstruction of the extinct calculations which once passed through midland heads, often unlettered heads, cannot be more than unheroic work. But the calculations were men's common thoughts about the things of their common experience. There is Maitland's authority for saying that to rethink such thoughts is one of the duties and privileges of an historian.[1]

[1] F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and beyond* (1897), last page.

THE TRANSITION TO CHRISTIANITY IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC

By W. P. Morrell, D.Phil., F.R.Hist.S.

Read 14 October 1944

Though the operations of the Christian missionary societies in the nineteenth century are in a general way well known, very rarely do we find a satisfying account of the transition among the native peoples of the mission fields from their old magico-religious beliefs to Christianity. The histories of the missionary societies are full and well documented, but they take too much for granted. The anthropologists give us ideas for which we must be grateful, but we cannot expect them to do the historian's work for him. And surely this subject is of general historical interest.

There can be few, if any, parts of the world in which this transition is so amply documented as in the South Pacific.[1] Even if the vast reservoirs of unpublished missionary journals in the archives of the missionary societies, inaccessible in wartime, are left on one side, there is much primary material in the books written by missionaries and the reports and other publications of the societies, to say nothing of voyages and books of travel. Would not this wealth of material excite the envy of historians, for example, of the Anglo-Saxons ?

The planners of the first mission despatched by the London Missionary Society to the South Seas in 1796 were conscious that their responsibility would extend beyond instruction in the dogma and practice of religion to civilization in a broad sense. Besides four ordained ministers, there were carpenters, bricklayers, tailors, weavers, shoemakers, a cooper and a smith among those sent out, though these artisans clearly regarded themselves primarily as missionaries rather than as teachers of their trades. The Directors also perceived the necessity of establishing friendly relations with some chief or chiefs willing to protect the mission, and realized that this would depend upon ' the advantages which will arise to them

[1] New Zealand is excluded from this paper. It was the most important island group occupied by the Polynesian peoples of the South Pacific ; but it raises special issues. The Melanesian islands, with their more primitive peoples, are also excluded, except for Fiji, the principal point of contact between Melanesian and Polynesian. It is for these reasons of space and ethnology that Church of England missions are excluded and Roman Catholic missions touched only incidentally.

from our residence among them '.[1] Yet they clearly did not realize the importance or the complexity of the political aspects of the missions.

In Tahiti, the first and long the most important of the mission stations, there was at least no difficulty in deciding to what chief to apply. Since Cook's voyage the chief known to history as Pomare I had been the most powerful in the island. It was his good fortune that his influence centred in the district most frequented by European ships. After Cook's departure his enemies had combined to despoil him, but Bligh, thinking our past relations with him gave us a certain responsibility towards him,[2] saved him from ruin, and the *Bounty* mutineers, agreeing with their captain in his Tahitian policy, helped Pomare to take revenge upon his enemies.

Pomare saw in the arrival of the mission in March 1797 a further enhancement of his prestige and power. He readily agreed that ' the whole district of Matavai should be given to the English, to do with it what they pleased '.[3] To him they were Englishmen rather than missionaries, though he set his people to help in the building of their first chapel, and ' sent by the hands of a priest a raw fish of about a pound weight, as a peace-offering to the Lord Jesus Christ, and requested [them] to hang it in [their] intended chapel '.[4] As Pomare's protégés, however, the missionaries incurred the hostility of his rivals, the more so because they attempted to stop visiting ships from trading in arms. In 1798 four of the missionaries were assaulted and stripped of their clothes, and the majority thereupon decided to abandon the mission. Pomare punished the perpetrators of the assault, but the result of his action was to intensify tribal rivalries. In 1801 the rival chiefs felt strong enough to take up arms. They offered to leave the missionaries at peace in certain districts ; but eventually the missionaries acquiesced in the support of Pomare by an English trading captain and his crew. They hinted in a letter home that it might be expedient so to strengthen the mission ' as to be independent of the support of the chiefs, and not to stand or fall with them '.[5] But the suggestion, which was probably impracticable, was not accepted by the Directors.

[1] Instructions to Capt. Wilson (5 August 1796) : W. Wilson, *A Missionary Voyage to the South Pacific Ocean . . . in the Ship ' Duff '* (London, 1799), pp. xcii ff.

[2] *Log of the ' Bounty '*, ed. Owen Rutter (London, 1936), ii. 28.

[3] Wilson, *A Missionary voyage*, p. 73.

[4] Journal, 18 June 1800 : *Transactions of the* [*London*] *Missionary Society*, i (2nd ed., London, 1804), p. 183.

[5] Letter from Rev. J. Jefferson (8 July 1802) ; *ibid.*, ii. 119.

With the death of Pomare, still an unrepentant believer in the old gods, in 1803, the mission found itself in the same rather equivocal relationship with his son. Its influence undoubtedly suffered from the fact that it was left without official communication from home between 1801 and 1806, and Pomare II, though by no means deficient in intellect, seems inferior to his father in vigour and powers of leadership. In 1809 his enemies were able to drive him from the island, and the remaining missionaries also retired, some with the chief to a neighbouring island, the majority, in despair, to New South Wales. Yet in the end their identification with Pomare's cause was to turn to their advantage. His defeat had shaken his faith in his old gods ; and, though there was no question of a religious conversion affecting his moral character, it is clear that he was powerfully impressed by some points of the missionaries' theology. In 1812, when he signified to the missionaries who remained with him his desire for Christian baptism, he told them that ' if no one else would hear us he would, as he desired to be happy after death, and be saved in the judgment day '.[1] It was long before they could bring themselves to baptize him, despite his ' extensive knowledge of the doctrines of the Gospel ' ; but in the end they had to give way to his importunities, for after all he rendered great services to the mission. His enemies fell out amongst themselves, and this enabled him to return to Tahiti in 1815. He returned as a known adherent of Christianity. On Sunday, 12 November, the supporters of the old gods attacked Pomare and his followers at their Christian worship, but they had kept their powder dry : the hostile chief was quickly killed and his followers fled. Then, to quote Ellis,

> flushed with success, in the moment of victory, the king's warriors were, according to former usage, preparing to pursue the flying enemy. Pomare approached and exclaimed, *Atira!* It is enough !—and strictly prohibited any one of his warriors from pursuing those who had fled from the field of battle, forbidding them also to repair to the villages of the vanquished, to plunder their property, or murder their helpless wives and children.[2]

Clovis, on a similar occasion, had done the same ; and in both cases we ought not to deny to the chiefly converts some appreciation of the moral values of Christianity. The gesture

[1] Quoted by R. Lovett, *History of the London Missionary Society, 1795–1895* (London, 1899), i. 197. Ellis, who knew Pomare, gives in *Polynesian Researches*, ii. 526 ff., an interesting sketch of his character.

[2] W. Ellis, *Polynesian researches* (London, 1829), i. 252.

certainly produced an effect on the minds of the vanquished, who not only tendered their submission and implored Pomare's forgiveness, but declared their determination to embrace the new religion. It was as a Christian that Pomare had for the first time secured something like general recognition as king of the island ; and if the missionaries came to realize with time that ' the change . . . had been rather a civil revolution than a religious conversion ',[1] the adoption of evangelical Christianity as the official religion of Tahiti was no inconsiderable success.

Yet it is only partly true to say of the Tahitians that ' in becoming Christian they had followed the lead of their chief.' [2] The first sign of light in Tahiti was not the conversion of Pomare but the missionaries' discovery that numbers of Tahitians, led by former servants of the mission, were meeting secretly for prayer to the Christian God. These *pure Atua*, as they were nicknamed, were later expelled but came back to triumph with Pomare. They were the real founders of the Tahitian church.

In Tonga, the second of the mission stations of 1797, the path to success was longer and stonier, and the political problem was more complicated at first. The chief of greatest dignity was the Tui Tonga, who typified the sanctity of chieftainship ; but political supremacy, except in his immediate neighbourhood, had passed to the head of one or other of two families, originally, it seems, junior branches of his own, known respectively as the Tui Haatakalaua and the Tui Kanokupolu. The first approach of the missionaries was to the Tui Haatakalaua, a friendly but elderly chief ; but in view of his age they decided to accept his offers ' only . . . if they could do no better ',[3] and on being informed by a sailor resident in the island that the Tui Kanokupolu was the most powerful chief they gave the preference to him. Yet if the Tui Tonga was ' out of politics ', the Tui Kanokupolu was a target for the attack of jealous rivals. Within a month the missionaries thought it advisable to divide their forces among five different chiefs.

But they did not find safety in dispersion. On 21 April 1799 the Tui Kanokupolu was murdered ; and the island was

[1] W. Ellis, *History of the London Missionary Society* (London, 1844), i. 223.

[2] K. L. P. Martin, *Missionaries and annexation in the Pacific* (Oxford, 1924), p. 15. Cf. E. A. Benians in *C.H.B.E.*, vii, part i, p. 332.

[3] W. Wilson, *A Missionary voyage*, p. 102. Dumont D'Urville in his *Voyage de la corvette l'Astrolabe* (Paris, 1832), iv. 94, says this chief was Tui Haatakalaua, deriving his information from Mariner's companion Singleton, still in the islands. The contemporary missionaries mention his name Mumui) but not his title.

plunged into civil war. The chief of Hihifo desired his missionaries to 'take their firearms and accompany him' into the field. When they declined he angrily informed them that they 'must expect no more benefit from his protection'.[1] Three weeks later his people killed three missionaries at another station, partly, it would seem, from desire for their property, partly from malice against the chief with whom they lived. Moreover, Finau Ulukalala, one of the instigators of the war, who at first sent friendly messages to the survivors, was prejudiced against them by an escaped convict whom they had revealed as such. To vent his spite, this man informed the chiefs (so Finau told William Mariner some years later) 'that they were men sent out by the king of England to bring a pestilence upon the people of Tonga, and that they accordingly shut themselves up in the house, to perform witchcraft and make incantations, which was the cause of the pestilence that then raged.' The chiefs had noted that 'the white men often assembled, and sang very loud; besides which, they would not let the Tonga people be present, and to prevent them even from peeping through the crevices of the reed fencing of the house, they stopt them up with all kinds of filth.'[2] Driven from pillar to post, fearing death at Finau's hands, the five faithful survivors withdrew early in 1800 to New South Wales.

In 1822 the Wesleyans took up the task that the London missionaries had abandoned. Mr. Lawry, their pioneer missionary, opened his business to a meeting of seven chiefs, whom he presented with twenty chisels and two axes, thereby securing a favourable preliminary reception; but the political confusion in Tonga had increased in the preceding quarter of a century. Less than ever was there a chief of unchallenged pre-eminence with whom he could fix his residence, and the old suspicions had deepened with the years. At a *kava* ring three months after Lawry's arrival

> an old mataboole [councillor] . . . said the white people were come as spies, and would soon be followed by others from England, who would take away the Island from them. 'See,' said he, 'these people are always praying to their *Atuas* [gods] as the other missionaries were, and what was the consequence of their praying? Why, the wars broke out, and all the old Chiefs were killed.'[3]

[1] *Transactions of the Missionary Society*, i (2nd edition, London, 1804), p. 281.

[2] W. Mariner, *An account of the natives of the Tonga Islands* (London, 1817), i. 67–8. His account of the fate of the missionaries is full of inaccuracies, but the chief's statement is substantially borne out by other evidence.

[3] Journal of Lawry (29 Nov. 1822): *Missionary Notices* (1823), pp. 99–100.

Lawry was obliged to return to England within fourteen months for family reasons; but two more Wesleyan missionaries arrived in June 1826. The leading warrior of the island, Hata, had shown himself friendly to a mission artisan who had remained after Lawry's departure, and their first establishment was with him. But Hata's mind remained closed to missionary teaching. 'It is very good,' he remarked, 'for you to attend to your God, and I will attend to mine.' [1]

Meanwhile two Tahitian teachers had made some impression on the chief Alea-motua at Nukualofa. It had a central situation and the best anchorage for ships. When the discouraged missionaries were reinforced, this was the station chosen. The islanders seem to have believed that the progress of the new religion might be due to the neglect of their ancient traditions. There had been no Tui Haatakalaua since 1799, no Tui Kanokupolu since 1820, and the Tui Tonga had lost something of his sanctity, as he had left the sacred island during the civil wars and his heir had never been consecrated in the proper form. Accordingly in December 1827 Alea-motua, now the head of this chiefly family, was elected Tui Kanokupolu. The move failed in its object. On 10 January 1830 the Tui Kanokupolu was baptized, by the name of Jiosaia [Josiah] Tupou. He explained in a speech that he did not at first tell his people of his conversion 'that evil might not come upon you on my account, and you say, it is this New Thing.' But he advised them now to be very diligent in religion 'lest I should not find you in heaven when I go.'[2] Among his own people the effect of his conversion was marked. Chiefs put away all of their wives save one. But Tupou was a chief of amiable rather than strong personality. The island of Tonga generally did *not* follow his example: some of the chiefs, perhaps regretting his elevation, hardened their hearts. The missionaries were well advised to divert part of their effort to the outlying Haapai and Vavau groups.

Taufa-ahau, the principal chief of the Haapai islands, was a man of exceptional intelligence and force of character. He frequently made 'visits of state and courtesy' to Josiah Tupou in Tonga and thus was led to interest himself in the proceedings of the Tongan mission. At the beginning of 1828 he asked for a missionary in Haapai, abandoned various heathen amuse-

[1] Sarah S. Farmer, *Tonga and the Friendly Islands* (London, 1855), p. 190. Miss Farmer, a relative of the Treasurer of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, clearly made use of its records.

[2] Rev. N. Turner's Diary: quoted by P. Bays, *A narrative of the wreck of the 'Minerva' Whaler of Port Jackson* (Cambridge, 1831), p. 128.

ments and religious practices and abstained from his ordinary occupations on Sundays. No missionary being then available,

> he employed the services of a rough, ungodly sailor, then residing under his protection, to trace the letters of the alphabet upon the sands of the seashore, for the benefit of those who wished to learn; and he ordered the same man to conduct prayers to the God of the foreigners, in a house which he devoted to that purpose.

In 1829 he renewed his request, and the missionaries offered him the services of a young native teacher. 'He peremptorily declined'. On his return to Haapai, however

> a storm . . . arose . . . and for two days it was doutbful whether the canoe would ever reach the land in safety . . . Taufa-ahau . . . set it down as a Divine judgment upon himself for rejecting the offer made by the missionaries of a native teacher . . . It was not long before he revisited Tongatabu, chiefly for the purpose of asking for the very man whom he had formerly rejected.[1]

Some of the other chiefs were angry, but Taufa-ahau had a masterful way of overbearing opposition. He knocked down a priestess under the 'inspiration' of the god Haehaetahi and, to quote the narrative of the teacher Peter Vi, 'raising a shout of victory, cried out that the god was slain.' 'Owing to this act,' Vi proceeds, 'no god was again willing to appear openly throughout Haapai. The whole fraternity of gods were afraid lest they should be beaten like Haehaetahi.'[2] The plotting of the heathen chiefs merely led Taufa-ahau to identify himself more openly with the Christians and destroy many 'idols and idol-houses'. Soon after the arrival of two missionaries from Tonga, a crisis came. The chiefs of Vavau and Haapai assembled for the celebration of Taufa-ahau's marriage. 'Then [the Biblical language seems apt] was Taufa-ahau taken suddenly with a great sickness which seemed unto death, and the heathen had almost taken him away by force to Uiha [the chief sanctuary of the Haapai group] to perform heathen ceremonies, in anticipation of his decease.' He drank a native medicine, with ill effects—it may or may not have been poisoned—but the missionaries administered an emetic and prayed for the king, and he recovered. 'From that time,' we are not surprised to learn, 'the *lotu* spread and increased in strength,

[1] Rev. T. West, *Ten years in South Central Polynesia* (London, 1865), pp. 357–9. Cf. *Missionary Notices*, vii (1829), p. 182.

[2] Quoted by West, *op. cit.*, p. 364.

while the kingdom of the devil became weaker and weaker '.[1] The chiefs of Uiha held out for a time despite their ' fear and respect ' for Taufa-ahau, but by prudence and firmness he secured their adhesion. Moreover, he brought his influence to bear on Finau Ulukalala, successor of the Finau already referred to and principal chief of Vavau.

This chief, after ' conversation on the subject for fourteen days and nights ' with Christian converts from Tonga, had also asked for a missionary in 1828. ' My Island, Sir,' he wrote, by the hand of an English resident, ' will turn to our great God, because I am the only Chief on the Island. I have no one to control me. When I turn they will all turn.' [2] The inability of the missionaries to comply with his request offended his pride. ' He now resolved that none of his people should be permitted to pray ' ; and some who had become Christians or desired Christian instruction were expelled or left of their own accord for Haapai. But the persuasions of Taufa-ahau, on a state visit with twenty-four large canoes in April 1831, were effective. According to one account, he again seized a priest ' possessed of the god ', and he and his followers took the initiative in the exposure and destruction of idols. The disaffected chiefs and people seemed for a time to be going to make a fight of it under the leadership of Ulukalala's half-brother, but Taufa-ahau came to Ulukalala's assistance and eventually won a bloodless victory. ' Thus was heathenism, as a system, completely swept away, even before the foot of an English missionary had touched the shores of Vavau.'[3] After Finau Ulukalala's death towards the end of 1833, ' by his dying commands and nomination ', the Vavau chiefs elected Taufa-ahau as his successor.

Before his baptism, under the name of George, on 7 August 1831, Taufa-ahau had already rendered noteworthy services to Christianity. But his proud and ambitious spirit hardly yet accepted Christian doctrine. When the first chapel was being erected at Lifuka, the chief island of the Haapai group,

> Taufa-ahau saw the elevation of the minister with dismay. It would never do for a foreigner, even though he were a missionary, to violate thus publicly the rules of Tonguese propriety ; and so . . . the king ordered his carpenters to prepare him a pulpit of still loftier elevation, to be placed opposite that of

[1] Peter Vi's Narrative : West, *op. cit.*, p. 367. The *lotu*, a Tongan word often adopted by the missionaries, was Christianity. The term also came into use in other groups.

[2] Quoted in *Report* of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society for the year ending December 1828, p. 139.

[3] West, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

> the missionary, in which he might sit and hear the word of God without any disparagement of his dignity, in the presence of his people.[1]

Moreover, he was guilty of moral lapses, probably (though the missionaries are not explicit) through adherence to the custom of polygamy, which caused him to be excluded from the church. He took this ill.

> He wrote to Mr. Turner, stating that he was not the first or only person in the world who had done badly; that Solomon was more guilty than he was; that the nature of mankind is prone to sin, and that he ought not to be prohibited from meeting in class on account of his inability to resist that inclination.

His backsliding of course had its effects. 'Many of the people committed sin in imitation of the Chief, that they, like their temporal sovereign, might be excluded from membership.'[2] On the other hand, the majority of the church members stood firm, and in the course of 1834 both Vavau and Haapai were swept by one of the religious 'revivals' characteristic of Methodism in England in the days of Whitefield and Wesley and, not unnaturally, also of the more emotional peoples of the Pacific. George Taufa-ahau and his queen were deeply moved. He sent a message to Mr. Turner in the middle of the night to say that they both 'felt an overwhelming sense of their guilt and misery in the sight of God'. Eventually he achieved a state of inward peace, and for the fifty-nine years of life that remained to him he was, by practically universal testimony, a sincere Christian.

These events tilted the balance of power in the Friendly Islands definitely in favour of the Christians; but in Tonga-tabu itself they were still a minority. After a period of restlessness war broke out in Tonga between the heathen party and the Christian party in 1837. The heathen chiefs apparently intended to depose Josiah Tupou from his office of Tui Kanokupolu. They planned an attack on his town of Nukualofa during divine service, but were detected by sentries, discomfited and put to flight.[3] Tupou, however, feeling insecure, appealed (it is not clear whether before or after the incident just described) to George Taufa-ahau for help, and when his weight

[1] West, *op. cit.*, p. 264. Many years afterwards another missionary noted that 'the whole of the chapels in this District are built free of expense to the Society, and are the property of the Chiefs who build them': *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (1856), p. 172.

[2] Rev. D. Cargill, *Memoir of Mrs. Margaret Cargill* (London, 1841), p. 44.

[3] Rev. D. Cargill, *A refutation of Chevalier Dillon's slanderous attacks on the Wesleyan Missionaries in the Friendly Is.* (London, 1842), p. 7.

was thrown into the scale, the heathen chiefs thought it advisable to make peace. Another outbreak in 1840 led to a similar appeal; but this time the Christians came off badly. George Taufa-ahau reduced one of the heathen strongholds; but a British naval officer, Commander Croker, lost his life in an ill-judged attack on another of them. In 1842 French Roman Catholic missionaries attempted to turn the situation to their advantage, but though the heathen chiefs gave them permission to reside, they maintained their allegiance to the old gods.

With the death of Josiah Tupou in November 1845 George, who was his great-nephew, was elected in his place, the heathen chiefs being apparently consenting parties, and took the title of Tupou; but for some years he generally resided at Lifuka, the centre of his power. The Catholic priests, making a convert of the Tui Tonga, who had now returned to his ancestral seat at Mua, appear to have asserted his claims to the supreme government of the islands; but, confronted by George, he 'denied all participation in any attempt to advance himself to civil power; and declared further, that he had no right to it, nor did he wish it.' [1] First one and then another of the opposition chiefs, sometimes at personal risk, went over to the Wesleyans and to George. The only real hope of the opposition in their losing fight was in the moral support of the Catholic priests and in the possible intervention of France. In 1852, the final struggle began. Eventually, for the most part by blockade and diplomatic pressure, the chiefs of Houma and Bea were induced to make their submission. 'As the custom of the natives is to destroy the vanquished, the missionaries thought it right to be present at the ceremony, that they might intercede for the captives if needful.' But George freely forgave the Houma chiefs, though he degraded those of Bea from their rank. The risk of French intervention, of which one of the priests had rashly held out hopes, disappeared when the captain of a French warship, after investigation, declared himself perfectly satisfied with George's conduct. [2]

Wesleyanism had become the official religion of a Tongan kingdom created out of a loose confederacy of chiefs by the personal force, political capacity and persevering diplomacy of George Taufa-ahau. Yet the impression one receives after tracing the development in detail is not of the creation of a

[1] West, *op. cit.*, p. 291. There is much interesting material about the struggle in the periodical *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, and something in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, but it does not cover this point.

[2] *Report* of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society for the year ending April 1853, p. 37. This was not the end of French pressure; but George had gained his immediate point.

mission-ruled theocracy, nor on the other hand of a purely official adoption of Christianity. It is hard to imagine that George could have carried his enterprise through to success had he not learned to practise the eminently Christian virtues of self-control, mercy, and magnanimity, but it is hard to imagine the missionaries winning such solid success without the steady support and courageous leadership of the Tongan king.

The triumphs of the London missionaries in Tahiti and of the Wesleyans in Tonga smoothed their path in other groups. The chiefs of the Leeward group of the Society Islands—Ra'iatea, Tahaa, Huahine, Porapora—soon followed Pomare's lead, and regular missions were established there in 1818–20. But the prestige of the Society Islands extended farther afield. Opoa in Ra'iatea had once been the most famous sanctuary of the Polynesian gods. European ships, wind-driven canoes brought to new islands a knowledge of the religious revolution. Inspired by John Williams, a man of great practical capacity and winning personality, who soon found Ra'iatea too small to contain his missionary zeal, the missionaries began systematically to use native converts as pioneers of Christianity. First the Austral Islands and the tiny atolls of the Paumotu or Tuamotu group, then from 1821 the Cook Islands, and eventually Samoa, began to feel the influence of the Tahitian mission.

The Samoan group presented the missionaries with an even more curiously complicated political problem than Tonga.[1] The main island of Upolu was divided into three districts, each up to a point self-governing, but it was possible for a single chief to accumulate chiefly titles in all three, and thus become supreme chief of Samoa : at a given time there might or might not be such a supreme chief. The highest title in one district, Malietoa or ' brave warrior ', always remained, however, in one particular family. Samoa also was, and is, remarkable for the importance of its orators or talking chiefs, to whom the noteworthy development of the *fono* or council system gave great opportunities of influence. Most remarkable of all perhaps was the tendency to systematize the rivalry of chiefs in power and chiefs in opposition into a *malo* or victorious party and a *vaevae* or opposition party.

The mission was introduced into Samoa in auspicious circumstances. Williams was approached in Tonga, in 1830,

[1] On both groups see R. W. Williamson, *The social and political systems of Central Polynesia* (3 vols., Cambridge, 1924). This is not, however, the last word on the subject. Some of the evidence used by Williamson may be biased, and there must be much relevant material in the mission archives.

by a young relative of Malietoa, Fauea, who offered to use his utmost influence to ensure a favourable reception for Christian teachers. Williams jumped at the offer and set sail forthwith. As soon as the anchor was dropped natives came off to the ship, and Fauea began his work. He

> informed them that, as ours was *e vaa lotu*, a praying ship, women would not be received; and that as it was *le aso sa*, a sacred day, they must bring off food, and other articles for sale, in the morning . . . Having gathered them in a circle around him, on the quarter deck of our little ship, he informed them of the number of islands which had become Christian . . . and then specified some of the advantages which the inhabitants of those islands were deriving from the introduction of this new religion . . . 'Can the religion of these wonderful *papalangis* be anything but wise and good?' said our friend to his naked countrymen . . . who, with outstretched necks and gaping mouths, were eagerly catching the words as they fell from his lips: 'Let us look at *them*, and then look at *ourselves*; their heads are covered, while ours are exposed to the heat of the sun and the wet of the rain; their bodies are clothed all over with beautiful cloth, while we have nothing but a bandage of leaves around our waist; they have clothes upon their very feet, while ours are like the dogs;—and then look at their axes, their scissors, and their other property, how rich they are![1]

It was a further point in Williams's favour that the mission was thus introduced to the Samoans not by himself directly, but by a talking chief. An impression was also made on Malietoa. He was then engaged in a war to avenge the death of a powerful chief of the *Malo* party.

> If he left the war unfinished, and his enemies unsubdued, he should be degraded in the estimation of his countrymen as long as he lived; but he promised that he would take care there should be no more war after the present, and that, as soon as it was terminated, he would come and place himself under the instruction of the teachers.[2]

On the strength of these assurances, eight Tahitian teachers were left in Samoa.

Williams returned to Samoa in October 1832 to find that Malietoa and nearly all his immediate followers had embraced Christianity. He had called his family together and proposed to take this bold step by himself.

[1] John Williams, *Narrative of missionary enterprise in the South Sea Islands* (London, 1837), pp. 327–8: part quoted by Sylvia Masterman, *The origins of international rivalry in Samoa, 1845–1884* (London, 1934), p. 36.
[2] Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 334–5.

> 'Do you not know,' he said, 'that the gods will be enraged with me for abandoning them, and endeavour to destroy me? and perhaps Jehovah may not have power to protect me against the effects of their anger! My proposition, therefore, is, that I should try the experiment of becoming his worshipper; and then, if he can protect me, you may with safety follow my example.' [1]

After the gods of Samoa had been given three weeks' grace, his family followed him, and then his people. The news had already spread to the more distant islands of Tutuila and Manu'a. One of the Tutuila Christians explained to Williams: 'I go down to the teachers, get some religion, which I bring carefully home, and give to the people; and, when that is gone, I take my canoe again, and fetch some more. Give me a man full of religion,' he added, 'that I may not expose my life to danger by going so long a distance to fetch it.' [2]

When the promised missionaries from England arrived in June 1836 they were welcomed by Malietoa, the chief of Manono, and various minor chiefs. They promised

> that we and all belonging to us should be *sa* or sacred . . . that if quarrels arose they would do as *we* recommended, and that at all events we should not be injured. They added, however, that there were several heathen chiefs and wicked men in the islands for whom they could not be answerable.[3]

The missionaries distributed themselves among various stations, and other chiefs offered to *lotu* if provided with a white teacher. Some years of peaceful progress followed. If much of the adherence to Christianity was nominal, membership of the churches was confined to those who could convince the missionaries of their sincerity.

But Malietoa died in 1842, and no one succeeded to his influence. The restless islanders of Manono were envious of the growing prosperity of Aana, the leading district of the *vaevae*, under the mild regime of recent years, and in 1848 they resumed the war. Both parties kept the original promise to the missionaries, who did not disguise from the *malo* districts that their sympathies lay with the weaker party.

> This, however, did not make us their enemies . . . They would say to each other, 'These missionaries are from a foreign country, they do not understand our Samoan politics . . . They wish to teach us the Word of God; let us be respectful to them, and hear all they have to say.'

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 433. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 416.
[3] *The Missionary Magazine and Chronicle*, August 1837.

Thus they had free access to both parties from first to last.[1] Indeed, one noteworthy effect of the mission's work was that a certain number of chiefs and people remained neutral, and indeed brought increasing influence upon the warring chiefs to end hostilities. Eventually, in July 1857, the mediation of the missionaries was successful, and the war came to an end, neither party having achieved a decisive superiority.

By this time organized heathenism had practically disappeared from Samoa. But all were not adherents of the London mission. Roman Catholic missionaries, arriving in 1845, had gained a certain number of converts without involving themselves, as in Tonga, in the warlike rivalries of the tribes. More remarkable was the survival of a Wesleyan mission, begun in 1835 but withdrawn two years later in consequence of an agreement between the two societies at home. Tongan teachers, actively supported by George Tupou, maintained Wesleyan services, and eventually in 1857 an accredited Wesleyan missionary was again appointed to the group. The existence of these minority creeds emphasizes the difference between Samoa and Tonga or Tahiti. The Samoan mission had not helped a single chief to consolidate his political supremacy. On the contrary, the inconclusive war led to a loosening of such political ties as previously existed. The mission eventually flourished, nevertheless, but its comparative lack of influence on political development was pretty clearly a misfortune for the Samoans themselves. The consolidation of the Samoans into a united people has never taken place.

The transition to Christianity in Fiji is the last which will be considered in this paper.[2] Fiji before the Europeans was not so much a unit as a complete political system. There are said to have been thirty-two places in the group entitled to the name of *matanitu* (kingdom) or *vanua turanga* (chief lands);[3] but amongst these eight are named as 'leading powers' between whom the real contest for supremacy lay. At the beginning of the nineteenth century supremacy had lain with Verata. But Na Ulivou, chief of Mbau, quick to see the possibilities of European firearms, had subdued Verata with the aid of castaway sailors and made many chiefdoms tributary to Mbau. With his death in 1829 power passed to his brother Tanoa, who however was expelled in 1832. He was restored

[1] Rev. G. Turner, *Nineteen years in Polynesia* (London, 1861), p. 305.

[2] See G. C. Henderson, *The Journal of Thomas Williams, 1840–1853* and *Fiji and the Fijians, 1835–1856* (Sydney, 1931), works of fine scholarship and great insight.

[3] J. Hunt, *Memoir of the Rev. William Cross* (London, 1846), p. 73.

in 1837 by the boldness and craft of his son Ratu Seru, later known as Thakombau, disturber of Mbau.[1]

Mbau, however, was not the first centre of the Fijian mission. An offshoot of the Wesleyan mission in Tonga, it was natural that it should establish its first station, in 1836, at Lakemba, the principal centre of the considerable Tongan community in Fiji. Unfortunately the Lakemban chief Tui Nayau did not hold a very high rank among Fijian chiefs. Quite early we find him telling the missionary Cargill that 'he will not abandon heathenism until a more influential person than he is has become favourably disposed to Christianity.' The missionaries soon sought to establish stations with other important chiefs. Among them Seru was approached. 'It will,' he replied, 'be most agreeable to me, if you think well; but I will not hide it from you that I am now engaged in war, and cannot attend to your instructions, or even assure you of safety.'[2] The missionary destined for Mbau thought it wiser not to go, and established himself at the rival town of Rewa instead. Seru took great offence, and the mission was handicapped for many years.

Only in the small islands of the Lau or Windward group did Christianity make steady progress. Elsewhere its fate was long in the balance. At Rewa the favour of the chief was compensated by the hostility of his more vigorous brother Ngaranggio, and the mission was withdrawn in 1844. A mission was invited to Somosomo by the chief's son Tuikilakila for frankly material reasons. 'He believed that a missionary would bring axes, etc., for his support; and that his safety under his protection would induce the captains of vessels to frequent Somosomo.'[3] In 1847, after a clash with Tuikilakila on the question whether Christian Tongans should be liable to serve in tribal wars, this mission too was withdrawn. Only at Viwa was an important chief won over. The principal chief was a time-server, 'wishing a little to be right with God, but fearing greatly to be wrong with Mbau.'[4] But his nephew Varani, after losing two of his children, became a Christian in 1845 in spite of the opposition of his friend Thakombau, and soon showed that the change was sincere. It became steadily clearer, however, that the slow progress of the mission was due to the fact that all Fiji was watching the attitude of Thakombau.

[1] *Ratu* is the Fijian word for chief.
[2] Rev. J. Waterhouse, *The king and people of Fiji* (London, 1866), p. 70.
[3] Rev. D. Cargill, *Memoir of Mrs. Margaret Cargill*, p. 150.
[4] *Journal of Thomas Williams*, i. 305.

His resentment at Mr. Cross's decision was now a thing of the past. He was feeling his way towards the acceptance of Christianity; but he boggled at the teaching of the missionaries concerning war. He told Lawry in 1847 that 'the *lotu* is near, but . . . he has a few more towns to burn before he and his warriors *lotu*.'[1] He did not want a peace which crystallized the *status quo*: he wanted to be, as the British Consul-General in the Pacific had once called him, *Tui Viti*, king of Fiji: then he would become an adherent of the gospel of peace, but not before. When a war on Vanua Levu endangered the mission station opened in 1847 at Mbua and the missionaries asked him for support, he was quick to see the inconsistency, but it did not deflect him from his course. He was in fact under increasing pressure. Three successive British naval visitors urged him to become a Christian and abandon heathen customs, the last, Sir Everard Home, in 1852, making an unsuccessful attempt to bring to an end the desultory war that he had been waging against Rewa since 1843. In October 1853 permission was at last given to open a missionary station at Mbau. In November of that year George of Tonga paid Thakombau a visit, and soon afterwards, from Sydney, wrote him a letter urging him to adopt Christianity. About the same time the chief of Somosomo, who had been prospering in spite of his rejection of Christianity, came to a violent end. George's letter provided Thakombau with a convenient opportunity for casting away his remaining doubts, and on 30 April 1854 he openly adopted Christianity.

At first the effect was to aggravate Thakombau's difficulties, to transform his war with Rewa into a war between heathenism and Christianity. The European community of Levuka, attributing to Thakombau the burning of their town, threw their weight against him and stopped a cargo of ammunition. Nggaranggio of Rewa replied to peace overtures with the gibe, 'We shall see whether Jehovah, who is a spirit, can save the body of Thakombau'; but the gibe turned against him, for he died of dysentery—some whispered of poison—early in 1855. Then George opportunely arrived from Tonga with thirty canoes. He attempted mediation, with no more success than the missionaries or naval officers before him. One of his canoes was fired on; and a defiant message from the chief he held responsible made him the ally of the hard-pressed Thakombau. In a single battle at Kamba on 7 April 1855 the Tongans

[1] *The Friendly and Feejee Islands: a missionary visit in the year 1847* (London, 1850), p. 54. The missionaries' attitude to war was also an issue for a time in Tonga: *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (1853), pp. 35–6.

decided the issue. The Christians had beaten the heathens in fair fight and in the eyes of public opinion in Fiji Thakombau's choice was justified. His followers flocked to the churches. New chapels were built in every direction. On 11 January 1857 Thakombau, having renounced all his wives but one, was himself baptized.[1]

Yet if it was Thakombau's aim to become king of Fiji and use Christianity to consolidate his supremacy, he had not achieved it in spite of all his skill and care. The Tongans in Fiji, and especially the wily chief Maafu, now realized their power. The beginnings of European planting and land purchase brought new complications. Thakombau began to perceive that he could not consolidate his position without external support. The story cannot be told here. Thakombau's ' cession of sovereignty ' to Queen Victoria on 12 October 1858 was not held valid, and British intervention in 1874 came by way of the establishment, not of a protectorate as Thakombau would probably have wished, but of a Crown Colony.

In none of these cases does the common contention that the outcome of the missions was the establishment of a missionary theocracy find much support. It is however true that in the earlier days of the Christianized kingdoms the missionaries were asked for advice on civil and political matters of every description. At every point Polynesian custom was based on religious sanctions, and was therefore weakened by the decay of the old beliefs.

> In former times, [the Tahitian missionaries reported a landowner as saying in 1817], ' when strangers caught fish, they uniformly sent some to the owners of the fishing grounds ; but this had been omitted lately in several instances, the people pretending that since the old religion and customs were abolished, therefore the customs relating to the boundaries of lands, fishing grounds, etc., were also done away.' [2]

Reared though they had been in a tradition of nonconformity, they felt obliged to intervene. The chiefs were merely punishing offenders as they thought fit, without any regular or uniform procedure. The king was advised ' to call a general meeting of all the principal chiefs, and, with their assistance and approbation, adopt such laws and regulations as would

[1] These paragraphs are based on Waterhouse, West, and Henderson, *opp. citt.* I find it hard, however, to accept Henderson's suggestion that George's intervention was arranged with Thakombau on his first visit. Did it altogether suit Thakombau's book ?

[2] *Quarterly Chronicle of Transactions of the London Missionary Society*, i (1821), 305.

tend to the good of the community, and the stability of his government.'[1] Pomare, though reluctant to admit any such limitation on his authority, felt it politic to act accordingly, and in 1819 a code of laws prepared by him and a few of the chiefs, with the advice and direction of the missionaries, though 'not altogether such as the missionaries would have wished the nation to adopt,' was formally sanctioned. Like the earliest codes of the Anglo-Saxon kings, it was a blend of the old customs and the new. It dealt with murder, offences against property, buying and selling, sabbath-breaking, marriage and adultery, etc., and provided for hearings by judges.

This code, and the similar codes of the Leeward Islands of the group, admitted of amendment. After Pomare's death in 1821, when a regency ruled in the name of his infant son, there was an attempt to substitute a regular revenue system for the previous arbitrary exactions and to provide for an annual legislative assembly with members from every district. In the later 'twenties and early 'thirties, when Pomare's daughter succeeded her infant brother and seemed to be slipping back towards heathen usages, obedience to the established laws was the programme of a party headed by Tati, a chief of descent more noble than Pomare's own, and the queen was obliged to promise compliance. In April 1834 all parties joined in passing a law prohibiting the importation, use or sale of spirits, the source of the worst social evils. Another law required all the people to attend public worship on Sundays and all children unable to read to attend school. Of the church attendance law Ellis remarks that 'it does not appear that the missionaries approved, or even knew of this enactment until it had passed.'[2] Social discipline rather than religious conformity for its own sake seems to have been its object.

It is true that the new institutions were not strong enough to cope with the external difficulties that began with the unwelcome arrival of French Roman Catholic missionaries in 1836 and ended with the establishment of a French protectorate. How could a Tahitian kingdom hope to stand against a European Power? But where external circumstances were more favourable, as in the Cook Islands, or in the Tonga group where, on appeal in 1847 to the Chief Justice of New Zealand, George was advised to adopt a code on similar lines,[3] these codes certainly played their part in building up regular island

[1] Letter to the Directors from the Missionaries at Papeotai in Eimeo (2 July 1817): *ibid.*, p. 228.

[2] *History of the London Missionary Society*, i. 325.

[3] George had promulgated a code at Vavau as early as 1840: *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (1841), pp. 282–3, 490.

polities. That, surely, rather than the riveting of a missionary theocracy, was their aim and their result. The absence of such codes in Samoa and Fiji was due, not to weaker missionary influence upon chiefs or peoples, but to the political complications already discussed. If the influence of missionaries on the native governments impressed many European travellers, it ought not to be overlooked that missionary influence would naturally be greatest in the chiefs' dealings with Europeans. In their dealings with their own people they were not always so amenable to missionary advice.

If we cannot regard the island polities as mission-ruled theocracies, neither can we regard their Christianity as merely official. Finau Ulakalala might boast that 'when I turn, they will all turn'; but for the most part the chiefs did not break with the old gods until they felt sure of their ground, until they saw the new religion making an impression on their peoples. The *pure Atua* in Tahiti have already been mentioned. The religious revival in Haapai, which transformed George Taufa-ahau from a nominal into a sincere Christian, was popular and not official. Some at least of the Pacific Islanders were perfectly capable of individual decisions to adopt Christianity. Joel Mbulu, a Vavauan teacher, turned to Christianity in defiance of his family, was frightened back by their threats, but won back again by the intervention of Ulukalala. 'Our friends,' he says, 'were afraid of his wrath; so they made a great feast, to which the priest was called, whereat they bade farewell for me to the heathen gods, and gave me over to the *lotu*.'[1] There are many recorded cases of individual conversion and must be thousands unrecorded.

Why did individual Pacific Islanders adhere to Christianity? Joel Mbulu was attracted by the Christian idea of Heaven: 'I wanted to live among the stars.' Often no doubt the motive was a lively fear of Hell. Thomas Williams records a variety of motives in Fiji, among which family troubles and sickness bulk most largely. 'To avert the anger of a chief or the danger of a threatened invasion . . .; to get passage in a vessel more easily; to avoid the effects of witchcraft' are other reasons on his list.[2] European medicine and the relief it brought in sickness, at first regarded as magical, were no doubt powerful influences in favour of Christianity. Yet behind most of the reasons stated was no doubt a belief in the

[1] Joel Bulu, *The Autobiography of a native minister in the South Seas* (2nd ed., London, 1884). The book is not strictly an autobiography: but 'the chief events are given in his own words, which the Translator carefully noted down after many conversations'.

[2] *Journal of Thomas Williams*, ii. 322–3.

superior power of the Christian God. It was partly a question of the great ships which brought the missionaries, the still greater ships with their awe-inspiring guns which came from time to time to view the progress of the missions and inquire into the doings and misdoings of the islanders. But the best minds among the Polynesian peoples could not but concede the superiority of the civilization and, I think, of the moral and spiritual ideas for which the missionaries stood.

The considerations which made a man a Christian generally belonged to the old rather than to the new moral and spiritual order. Yet he might become a Christian for bad reasons and find good reasons for remaining so. Ellis informs us that many began by thinking of the Bible as a collection of revelations similar to those of their own inspired priests, only ' made fast upon the paper '. But later they might come to believe in it

> because its declarations accord with the testimony of our own consciences as to the moral character of our actions; and because, though written by persons who never saw us, or knew our thoughts, it describes so accurately our inclinations, imaginations, motives and passions. It must have been dictated by One who knew what man was, better than we know each other.[1]

There is in this description of natives' state of mind a ring of truth. No doubt there were hypocrites who managed to cross the barriers with which the missionaries sought to surround church membership; no doubt there was too much emphasis on external observances such as the Sabbath *tabu*; but it is impossible to doubt that many had caught something of the essential spirit of Christianity and found it true.

[1] *Polynesian Researches*, ii. 322–3.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE RECENT HISTORY OF AMERICAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

By Professor H. Hale Bellot, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

Read 13 January 1945

My title is already long. Yet it does not say all that it should. My proper subject is certain aspects of the writing of American history in the United States during the last three-quarters of a century. But in order to deal with that I must say much that applies with equal force to American historiography at large during that period. In so doing, I run the risk of leaving a false impression. There is a danger that I may suggest that the events of the earlier years, where I am speaking of what is more general, had issue in the later in something much narrower than was in fact the case. But that which I leave out will be much more familiar to my audience than it is to me; and it may be sufficient if I say that when I turn away from the general subject of the writing of history in the United States to the more particular one of the writing of American history, I do so not unaware, and trusting my audience to be much more fully aware, of the parallel cultivation by American historians of other fields of historical investigation.

During the last seventy-five years, three influences have shaped American historiography. They have been the liberalisation of the academic curriculum, the establishment of professional standards, and the adoption of a distinctively American in place of what had been an essentially European point of view. To-day, if I am not mistaken, American historiography is experiencing another transformation, to which the term 're-integration' may perhaps be given. The process of liberalisation and the establishment of professional standards affected, of course, the whole range of American historiography. The process of Americanization affected primarily the writing of the history of the mainland colonies and of the United States.

Despite the liberal example of the University of Virginia, the traditional method of education at American colleges was by a single required course in classics and mathematics, consisting in the main of recitation from textbooks. If he got beyond this, the student still took, not geology, but

Hitchcock's *Geology*, not chemistry, but Silliman's *Chemistry*.[1] When Andrew Dixon White was at Yale in the early fifties, the study of history meant recitations from Pütz's *Ancient history* and the Rev. John Lord's *Modern history of Europe*.[2] Sparks had delivered historical lectures which were the fruit of original research at Harvard between 1839 and 1849 ;[3] and Francis Lieber lectured upon political philosophy at South Carolina College, 1835–56, and at Columbia College from 1857 to 1876,[4] although the report which Burgess gives of his work at Columbia is that as a teacher he was a failure.[5] But these were exceptions, and lectures, when they were delivered at all, consisted as a rule in little more than instruction in the prescribed text.[5] Academic education was essentially drill in the repetition of accepted truth. ' A product of the old order ', writes the biographer of C. W. Eliot, ' once exclaimed to William James : " I can't understand your philosophy. When I studied philosophy, I could understand it. We used to commit it to memory." '[6]

The lead in the substitution of something richer and more varied for this anaemic curriculum was taken, in the third quarter of the century, by five men—H. P. Tappan and J. B. Angell, presidents of the University of Michigan from 1852 to 1863 and 1871 to 1909 ; Charles William Eliot, president of Harvard from 1869 to 1909 ; Andrew Dixon White, professor of history in the University of Michigan, 1857–1868, and first president of Cornell, 1867–85 ; and Daniel Coit Gilman, first president of Johns Hopkins University, 1875–1901.

By the work of these men there was created in the United States the university in the modern sense, an institution where the single required course gave place to the pursuit of all branches of knowledge, where free investigation was the aim, and where, in consequence, the primacy of classics and mathematics was denied and that school overthrown whose symbol was the textbook and whose chief distinction it was, in the words of Professor Becker, ' to know and to enforce all of the

[1] W. P. Rogers, *Andrew D. White and the modern university* (Ithaca, 1942), p. 39 ; *cf.* H. B. Adams, *The study of history in American colleges and universities. Bureau of Education. Circular of Information No. 2, 1887* (Washington, 1887), p. 21 ; *The Autobiography of Andrew Dixon White* (2 vols. New York, 1905), i. 26–9, 289.

[2] White, *op. cit.*, i. 28.

[3] S. E. Morison (ed.), *The development of Harvard University . . . 1869–1909* (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), pp. 152–3.

[4] Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 66–7, 72.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 21 ; *cf.* White, *op. cit.*, i. 255–6.

[6] H. James, *Charles W. Eliot, president of Harvard University, 1869–1909* (2 vols., 1930), i. 209.

right answers rather than to know or to ask any of the right questions.' [1]

While, however, Tappan was in his day a philosopher of some repute, Angell, Eliot, White and Gilman were not themselves original investigators or scholars in any strict sense of that word. They were administrators of wide culture and liberal views, with a strong sense of social responsibility; and something happened to American historiography for which their work was indeed a preparation, but for which it was not by itself sufficient to account.

The porter of one of the Cambridge colleges is said to have remarked: 'The men who used to go in and out of this gate were gentlemen: now they are scholars.' By somewhere about the year 1910, something of that sort had happened to the writing of history in America. The editor of the correspondence of Herbert B. Adams has observed

> in ... Justin Winsor's *Narrative and critical history of America* [8 vols., 1884–9], two of the thirty-four authors were professors of history and only eight others were university professors of other subjects. Of the entire number only one had received graduate training in history. In the American Nation Series, which appeared between 1904 and 1907, twenty-one of the twenty-four authors were university professors, and all but two of them had done graduate work in history.[2]

It can indeed be said with some truth that very little American history that was written before 1900 is current to-day, though that little may be very important; and that since 1910 men of the elder school have been outmoded, and if they did not altogether cease to produce, had lost their importance. The characteristic works of the earlier period were the big narrative histories:—James Schouler's five-volume *History of the United States under the Constitution* (1880–91), followed by a sixth volume in 1899; Fiske's twelve volumes from *The critical period of American history* (1888) to *New France and New England* (1902); James Ford Rhodes' seven volumes on the *History of the United States from the compromise of 1850* (1893–1906); and McMaster's eight-volume *History of the people of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War* (1883–1913). Their counterpart in this country was J. A. Doyle's five volumes on *The English in America* (1882–1907). All of these were begun between 1880 and 1894; and all were finished

[1] C. L. Becker, *Cornell University: founders and the founding* (Ithaca, 1943), p. 17.

[2] W. S. Holt (ed.), *Historical scholarship in the United States, 1876–1901, as revealed in the correspondence of Herbert B. Adams* (Baltimore, 1938), p. 9.

by 1913, save for supplementary and inferior volumes produced as after-thoughts.[1] None of the authors was in the full sense a trained historian. Schouler was a lawyer; Fiske, part philosopher, part sociologist, of great talent but of too vagrant an ambition to master anything, was only part historian and was disappointed of his hope of a chair of history at Harvard; Rhodes was an ironmaster; and J. B. McMaster, though for most of his career a professor of history in the University of Pennsylvania, a civil engineer by training, in so far as he can be said to have had any training at all, and, at the time of the publication of his first volume, a teacher of mathematics at Princeton. Since 1910, this kind of writing has almost ceased. Edward Channing's seven-volume *History of the United States* (1905–31) won only a contemporary reputation which is not wearing well; and Channing was, indeed, a trained historian. Woodrow Wilson's five-volume *History of the American people* (1902) was a (very successful) work of popularisation. To-day, only Mr. Oberholtzer has been so bold as to attempt anything of the kind in his five-volume *History of the United States since the Civil War* (1917–37). But this change is not to be attributed to White, and Eliot, and Gilman. It would, indeed, be truer to say that the great amateurs were their fellows and drew their strength from the same sources. White's own principal historical work was *A History of the warfare of science and theology in Christendom* (1896). His aim as an educator was to produce good citizens and competent public servants, rather than scholarship. 'We ought to teach history,' he said in 1878, 'in such a way that it can be applied to the immediate needs of our time. The period has hardly arrived for elegant and learned investigation on points of mere scholarly interest.'[2] It is to others, therefore, that there belongs the credit for the establishment of new professional standards, although their work was only made possible by what these notable university presidents had done.

As Tappan and Angell, Eliot, White and Gilman had been the leaders in the liberalisation of the academic curriculum, C. K. Adams at Michigan, Moses Coit Tyler at Cornell, Henry Adams at Harvard, J. W. Burgess at Columbia, and Herbert B. Adams at Johns Hopkins were the leaders in the introduction of postgraduate training and the establishment of professional

[1] J. Schouler, *History of the Reconstruction period, 1865–1877* (New York, 1913); J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States from Hayes to McKinley, 1877–1896* (New York, 1919), and *The McKinley and Roosevelt administrations, 1897–1909* (New York, 1922); J. B. McMaster, *A history of the people of the United States during Lincoln's administration* (1927).

[2] Rogers, *op. cit.*, pp. 131–2; *cf.* pp. 158–60, 180.

standards in American historiography. These men began their distinctive work between 1870 and 1882. When in 1871 J. W. Burgess looked for advanced courses in history, public law or political science, he could find none in the United States.[1] Ten years later, the new movement was well under way, and there were recognisable examples in America of what Burgess regarded as the characteristic features of the German system ; ' the combination of studies at the election of the student, the giving of instruction by original lecture, and the exercise of the student in the seminarium '.[2] American academic terminology is, indeed, sometimes misleading ; and it is necessary to be careful not to ante-date the appearance of the post-graduate seminar. The so-called ' graduate schools ' were created by combining into a single course the last year or the last two years of undergraduate work for the bachelorship in arts with two further years of graduate work, and awarding to the successful a bachelorship or doctorate of philosophy.[3] In this scheme, the seminar began, in the senior year of the undergraduate course or in the graduate years only, as what we should now call an essay class, or at most as lectures upon the sources to classes of what we should describe as ' honours students '. Only in the course of time did this seminar grow into a research seminar in the strict sense.[4] Yet if original investigation and training in the methods of research were not in practice the first or the most obvious products of the newly-introduced education, they were nevertheless inherent in the ideals which it set before itself. Once the textbook had been dethroned and established truth exposed to examination, there was scope for original investigation ; and that was the first and indispensable step in the advance.

The fugleman in the introduction of scientific historical training was C. K. Adams. Adams succeeded White as professor of history in the University of Michigan in 1868. A pupil of White's, he was a better scholar than his master ; and his aims were more scientific. The year and a half in Germany and France which followed his promotion to the full professorship and which were spent in the study of history at Leipzig, Munich, Heidelberg, Berlin and Paris, gave him an insight into German methods ; and he was less discursive than White and more interested in historical technique. On his return, he put on a bibliographical course on historians and historical

[1] J. W. Burgess, *Reminiscences of an American scholar. The beginnings of Columbia University* (New York, 1934), p. 85.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 366.

[3] Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 76–7, 111–14.

[4] Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 105–6, 110–1, 117 (Michigan) ; 156–7, 158–9 (Cornell) ; 171–4 (Johns Hopkins).

books,[1] and he came back bent upon the introduction of the seminar method into the work at Michigan. The innovation first appeared in the report to the board for the year 1871–2. To begin with, what was done amounted to no more than the preparation of undergraduate theses and their discussion in class. But by 1882, and after the establishment of a School of Political Science of which Adams was the principal begetter,[2] the seminar had begun to grow into something like the place for graduate work which was its goal ;[3] and in 1883 its facilities were substantially improved by the opening of a new library building and the foundation of a seminar library.[4] Two of the papers prepared in the seminar in 1882–3 were printed in the first volume of *Papers* issued by the American Historical Association in 1886.[5] But Adams left Michigan in 1885, to succeed White in the presidency of Cornell.

At Cornell, White had combined with the presidency of the University the deanship of the School of History and Political Science and a professorship of History ; and it was natural, in these circumstances, that he himself should not have carried historical studies at Cornell to any stage more advanced than that to which he had carried them at Michigan.[6] But the appointment in 1881 of Moses Coit Tyler led to something more. Not only was it, save for Sparks' incumbency at Harvard between 1839 and 1849, the first appointment in the United States to what was in effect a chair of American History,[7] but it was also the appointment of a man who was himself an original investigator. Tyler was, no more than White, a trained historian. But, holding since 1867 a chair of English Literature at the University of Michigan, where as a teacher he had become deeply imbued with the liberal doctrines of Angell and White,[8] he had published in 1878 his two-volume

[1] Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

[2] C. F. Smith, *Charles Kendall Adams* (Madison, 1924), pp. 17–18 ; Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 114–18.

[3] Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–17 ; Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 104–11 ; H. B. Adams, *Seminary libraries and university extension. Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies, Fifth Series, no. xi* (Baltimore, 1887), pp. 12–13 ; Holt, *op. cit.*, pp. 79–80 ; G. B. Adams, ' Methods of work in historical seminaries ', *Am. Hist. Rev.* (1905), x. 521 n. ; H. B. Adams, *Methods of historical study. Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies, Second Series, nos. i–ii.* (Baltimore, 1884), pp. 94–7.

[4] H. B. Adams, *The study of history in American colleges and universities* . . . (Washington, 1887), pp. 121–3 ; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 16 ; H. B. Adams, *Seminary libraries* . . . (Baltimore, 1887), p. 13.

[5] G. W. Knight, ' History and management of federal land grants for education in the Northwest Territory ' ; Lucy M. Salmon, ' History of the appointing power of the President '.

[6] White, *op. cit.*, i. 381 ; Rogers, *op. cit.*, pp. 127–8, 133–40.

[7] Adams, *The Study of history* . . . , pp. 153–4 ; White, *op. cit.*, i. 383.

[8] H. M. Jones, *The life of Moses Coit Tyler* (Ann Arbor, 1933), pp. 160–8.

History of American literature, 1607–1765 and was to produce in 1897, in his two-volume *Literary history of the American Revolution*, one of the notable books published before 1900 which is still current and of which a photographic re-print has recently been issued.[1] Already stimulated by C. K. Adams to start a seminar in English Literature at Michigan,[2] Tyler used the same method in history at Cornell; and although his seminar appears not to have amounted in the main to much more than would now be called an essay class,[3] it had its own seminar library,[4] and when Adams came to Cornell in succession to White in 1885 and assumed, like his predecessor, a professorship of History, its activities were reinforced, and work of fully graduate standard was done, including the completion of one of the papers begun at Ann Arbor and destined to be published in the first volume of the *Papers* of the Association.[5]

Meanwhile the first genuine postgraduate work had been done at Harvard under Henry Adams. Appointed assistant professor of History in 1870, Adams was the instrument which Eliot chose for the liberalisation of historical studies at Harvard. A man of genius, but without formal training in historical research, while reforming the methods of teaching by requiring collateral reading and substituting discussion for recitations, he had no patience for the task of teaching undergraduates, whether by the old methods or the new,[6] and did his best work with a group of upper classmen and graduates whom he gathered round him in 1874–6 for individual original work, among whom were numbered H. C. Lodge, H. O. Taylor and Edward Channing, and from whom came the first Harvard Ph.Ds. in History.[7] Yet, although Adams recognised his experiment in graduate work as a pedagogical success, he could find no satisfaction even here, and he resigned in 1877, writing 'Failure' at the head of the chapter in his autobiography in which the experience is related.[8] After this, although E.

[1] M. C. Tyler, *The literary history of the American Revolution, 1763–1783*, 2 vols. [Facsimile reprint], Barnes & Noble (New York, 1941).

[2] Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 327, n. 74. [3] Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 156–7, 158–9.

[4] Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 162; *Seminary libraries . . .*, pp. 13–14.

[5] Lucy M. Salmon, *op. cit.*

[6] Morison, *op. cit.*, pp. 154–5; H. B. Adams, *Seminary libraries . . .* pp. 14–15; *The study of history . . .*, p. 358; J. T. Adams, *Henry Adams* (1933), cc. vii, viii; W. C. Ford (ed.), *Letters of Henry Adams, 1858–91* (1930), c. vi; H. S. Commager, 'Henry Adams', in W. T. Hutchinson, *The Marcus W. Jernegan essays in American historiography* (Chicago, 1937).

[7] G. B. Adams, 'Methods of work in historical seminars', *Am. Hist. Rev.* (1905), x. 521 n.; H. B. Adams, *Methods of historical study . . .*, pp. 87–8; J. L. Laughlin, 'Some recollections of Henry Adams', *Scribner's Magazine* lxix (1921), 579–80.

[8] *The education of Henry Adams. An autobiography* (Massachusetts Hist. Soc., 1918), c. xx.

Emerton returned to Harvard from the seminars of Leipzig in 1876, and was appointed to a chair of Ecclesiastical History in 1882, A. B. Hart, who had been trained under von Holst in Freiburg, entered the department in 1883,[1] and Justin Winsor,[2] appointed librarian in 1877, placed at the service of these men a library adapted to the needs of scientific study and teaching; and although by 1886 the variety of opportunity offered for the study of history at Harvard rivalled that of a German university,[3] yet the graduate school at Harvard, by Eliot's own confession, did not thrive until it had been stimulated by the example of Johns Hopkins.[4]

Thus it was not until 1876 that what was to prove to be the enduring provision of post-graduate training in the methods of historical research was begun. This was the date of the appointments of J. W. Burgess to the professorship of History, Political Science and International Law at what was then Columbia College, and of Herbert B. Adams as a fellow of Johns Hopkins University, which opened its doors in that year.[5]

At Columbia, the order of events was different from that at Michigan, Cornell, or Harvard. The development of advanced studies preceded, instead of following, the liberalisation of the undergraduate curriculum.

> I found the institution to consist [Burgess wrote] of a small old-fashioned college, or rather school, for teaching Latin, Greek, and mathematics, and a little metaphysics, and a very little natural science, and called the School of Arts; a School of Mines for teaching a little more natural science and educating mining and civil engineers; and a School of Law of a quasi-proprietary nature, loosely connected with the college by a contract between the trustees of the college and Professor Theodore W. Dwight—the main provision of which regulated a division of the sum total of the fees between the college treasury and Professor Dwight and left the educational management and control of the school to the professor.[6]

Burgess came to this institution after a brief experience at Amherst, where the creation of a graduate school had been

[1] Morison, *op. cit.*, pp. 157, 158–9; *Am. Hist. Rev.* xlix. (1944), 192–4.
[2] E. Channing, 'Justin Winsor', *Am. Hist. Rev.*, iii. 197–202.
[3] H. B. Adams, *The study of history in American colleges and universities* . . . (Washington, 1887), pp. 41, 43–4; *Seminary libraries* . . . pp. 14–16.
[4] F. Franklin, *The life of Daniel Coit Gilman* (New York, 1910), p. 389; *cf.* Morison, *op. cit.*, pp. 162–3, 456; H. James, *Charles W. Eliot* . . . (1930), ii. 3–28.
[5] *Cf.* C. M. Andrews, 'These forty years', *Am. Hist. Rev.* xxx. (1925), 234–5.
[6] J. W. Burges, *Reminiscences of an American scholar* . . . (New York, 1934), p. 161; *cf.* A. Nevins, *Hamilton Fish* . . . (New York, 1936), pp. 96–9.

blocked by the obscurantism of the Faculty. A graduate of Amherst himself, he had been trained at Göttingen, Leipzig and Berlin, where he had studied under Waitz, Mommsen, Droysen, and Gneist, as well as some of the leading philosophers, jurists, and economists.[1] He was brought to Columbia by the foresight of the Trustees, and when he found insufficient scope in the School of Arts and that of Law as then constituted, and saw no prospect of their early reform, he was successful in 1880 in persuading the Trustees to found a Faculty and School of Political Science, the character of which he was himself to shape. Visiting Paris in that year to survey the organisation of the newly-founded *École libre des sciences politiques*, he devised a programme of studies in history, economics, public law and political philosophy extending over three years and leading, upon the presentation of a thesis, to the degree of Ph.D.[2]

> The first principle of the system of education which the Faculty of Political Science followed in all its work [he records] was free and untrammeled individual research and complete freedom of instruction in imparting the results of such research. Their attitude towards what was considered established truth was one of question, if not of distrust, as being something produced by the thought of man and, therefore, at best only an approximation to truth, and needing continuous re-examination and readjustment under purer light and changing conditions. The progressive development of truth, instead of the monotonous maintenance of so-called established truth, was our principle.[3]

The method was that in which Burgess had been trained, and included a bibliographical seminar on the German model [4] and the conduct of research seminars by the professors ; [5] and a special room was set aside in the library for a library of history and political science.[6] Starting in this spirit with four colleagues in 1880, Burgess built within a decade a truly scientific and creative school with the characteristic features of the German system.[7] The library resources which were essential to its work were gathered together by Melvil Dewey, who became librarian at Columbia in 1882.[8] The outward marks of its progress were the foundation of the Academy of

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 99, 102–4, 107–9, 121–31.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 187–92, Adams, *The study of history* . . . pp. 75–82 ; *A history of Columbia University, 1754–1904* (New York, 1904), pp. 223–9.
[3] Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 203. [4] Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 82–3.
[5] Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 198.
[6] Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 82–4 ; *Seminary libraries* . . . , pp. 17–18.
[7] Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 366 ; Adams, *The study of history* . . . , pp. 82–3 ; *A history of Columbia University, 1754–1904* (New York, 1904), pp. 267–78.
[8] Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 217–18.

Political Science in 1882,[1] the printing of theses, begun in 1884 [2] and growing into the *Columbia University Studies*, the first of which was published in 1891, and the foundation of the *Political Science Quarterly* in 1886. The school, essentially a law school in the eighties, was in full flower in the nineties, and its graduates, as Burgess recalled with just pride, were being summoned to fill the chairs of history, economics, sociology, constitutional, administrative, and international law, political science and philosophy throughout the land.[3] Under the stimulus of its example, Columbia College grew between 1888 and 1891 into a real university.[4]

Herbert B. Adams had, like Burgess, been fully trained in the German universities; and these two men were the first really competently equipped historical scholars to reach responsible positions in the American academic world. Appointed at the age of twenty-six, and on the recommendation of Bluntschli, to a fellowship without teaching responsibilities at Johns Hopkins in 1876, Adams gave voluntary classes from the start, was promoted to the rank of Associate in 1878 and taught his first regular classes in 1878–9, was placed in charge of the Historical Seminary in 1881, became an associate professor and master of his own department in 1883, and was promoted to full professor in 1891, remaining at Johns Hopkins until shortly before his death in 1901. When the University opened in 1876, an Historical Seminary had been established under the direction of Austin Scott, who came once a week from Washington, where he was employed as an assistant to Bancroft.[5] This seminar Adams made the principal instrument of his endeavours, and its products began to appear in 1882 in the shape of the *Johns Hopkins University Studies*. Adams's own direct contributions to scholarship ceased in 1883, and he devoted himself thenceforth to the training of his students, to the promotion of higher education in the United States at large, and in particular to measures designed to raise the level of historical scholarship.[6] What these multifarious

[1] Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 85–6; Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

[2] Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 84–5.

[3] Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 244; *cf. A bibliography of the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, 1880–1930* (New York, 1931).

[4] Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 231–9; *A history of Columbia University, 1754–1904* (New York, 1904), pp. 230–8.

[5] W. S. Holt (ed.), *Historical scholarship in the United States, 1876–1901* . . . (Baltimore, 1938), pp. 13–14; *Herbert B. Adams. Tributes of friends* (Baltimore, 1902), pp. 13–17, 32–3.

[6] J. A. Woodburn: 'Promotion of historical study in America following the Civil War', *Illinois Hist. Soc. Journal* xv. (1923), 452–3.

activities meant to American historians is vividly illustrated by his recently published correspondence.[1]

Adams had been in Germany from 1874 to 1876. He went first to Heidelberg, where he heard Ihne on Roman history, Kuno Fischer on German literature and philosophy, and Treitschke on politics. The winter semester of 1874–5 was spent in Berlin, where he heard E. Curtius on Greek art and archaeology, Grimm on early Christian and Italian art, Lepsius on Egyptology, Zeller on Greek philosophy, Droysen on the French Revolution, and Treitschke again, who had moved to Berlin in that year. He returned to Heidelberg in 1875, and worked under Bluntschli, taking his Ph.D. in the Faculty of Political Science, with Bluntschli and Knies as his examiners. During the last year at Heidelberg, he attended the historical seminar of Erdmannsdörffer.[2] He found the seminar which was conducted by Scott at Johns Hopkins little more than an essay class, its employment consisting in the preparation of weekly reports on topics arising out of Scott's work for Bancroft and assigned for investigation ; and it was conducted with the aid of a few original sources gathered together on a table in the library of the Maryland Historical Society.[3] In 1881, Adams transformed this into a full graduate seminar,[4] the numbers, which in Scott's seminar had begun at 6 or 8, rising by 1887 to 25.[5] It met at first in a lecture room at the Peabody Institute containing a substantial library, but in 1883 was provided with its own seminary library in the University. To the furnishing and arrangement of this, and of similar rooms in other universities, Adams attached the greatest importance. It was an Institute of Historical Research in little,[6] and its creation was a step in advance of anything that Henry Adams had done at Harvard or Burgess had yet done at Columbia. The Johns Hopkins seminar was the first fully organized and fully equipped historical seminar in the United States.

In each centre of activity—Michigan, Cornell, Harvard, Columbia, Johns Hopkins—the aim, it will be seen, and in a large measure the means adopted to achieve it, were similar—enquiry instead of authority, lectures and wide reading in place of recitations from a textbook, some acquaintance with the sources of history for all and genuine research for a few ; ample libraries, reserved collections, open access, and the seminar room ; and the publication of results in journals and mono-

[1] Holt, *op. cit.* [2] *Herbert B. Adams. Tributes of friends . . .* pp. 12–13.
[3] Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 171–3.
[4] *Cf.* R. S. Baker, *Woodrow Wilson. Life and letters* (8 vols., 1927–39), i. 176–9.
[5] Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 172, 194, 238–9. [6] *Ibid.*, pp. 177–93.

graphic series. The influence of all this was rapid and far-reaching; and the part played in it by Johns Hopkins was astonishing. It was indeed a remarkable institution that, starting with 89 students in 1876,[1] could produce in History, James Franklin Jameson (1882), Woodrow Wilson (1886), Charles M. Andrews (1889) and C. H. Haskins and F. J. Turner (1890), besides a number more of historians of only lesser rank,[2] while from other departments in the faculty came such men as Josiah Royce (1878), Thorstein B. Veblen (1881–2), John Dewey (1889), and J. H. Hollander (1894). There were very few historical pies baked in the United States between 1876 and 1901 in which Herbert B. Adams did not have a finger; and in the baking of most of them his part was a large one. Johns Hopkins men carried the ideas of the school all over the States, and Adams kept in close touch with them. He was one of the founders of the American Historical Association in 1884,[3] and its first secretary. The origins of the *American Historical Review* (1895) are to be sought at Harvard and Cornell,[4] but Adams had a large share in its conduct. The *Johns Hopkins University Studies* were a model for similar series, and carried the influence of Johns Hopkins far afield.[5]

> There is talk [Bryce wrote to Adams from Boston in 1883] of establishing a historical seminary like yours. They have got a capital law school, indeed when I see that, and when I see your organization for historical and Staatswissenschaftlich studies I blush for the motherland which with all her vast endowments has nothing so satisfactory.[6]

The cumulative effect of this new academic activity was that by 1910 the 'gentlemen' writing history for 'gentlemen' had been effectively put out of business.

But the new school was essentially European in origin and outlook. Henry Adams's seminar produced a volume of *Essays in Anglo-Saxon law*;[7] and Adams's own bitter and scornful volumes on the *History of the United States* during the administrations of Jefferson and Madison were a study of high politics in the European tradition, and dealt very largely with foreign

[1] D. C. Gilman, *The Johns Hopkins University (1876–1891)*. *Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies, Ninth Series, nos. iii–iv* (Baltimore, 1891), pp. 66, 72.

[2] *Cf.* 'Bibliography of history, politics, and economics, 1876–1901', in *Herbert B. Adams. Tributes of friends* (Baltimore, 1902).

[3] J. F. Jameson, 'The American Historical Association, 1884–1909', *Am. Hist. Rev.* xv. (1910), 1–20; 'Early days of the American Historical Association, 1884–1895,' *Am. Hist. Rev.* xl. (1935), 1–9; Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 218–20.

[4] Morison, *op. cit.*, p. 157; Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 265–6.

[5] *Cf.* Holt, *op. cit.*, pp. 65–6.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

[7] Little, Brown & Co., Boston: Macmillan & Co., London, 1876; Adams, *Methods of historical study . . .*, p. 88.

relations. Burgess was a political scientist rather than a historian; and, a Southern Unionist who had fought in the Civil War on the Northern side, had been ripe to be deeply influenced in his thinking by what he had found in Germany. His master was von Gneist,[1] and his conception of the function of history was that it was the chief preparation for the study of the legal and political sciences.[2] The Johns Hopkins school under the leadership of Herbert B. Adams was equally Germanic. Adams was himself primarily a teacher of European and medieval history.[3] The spring from which the historical interests of a lifetime flowed was an episode which occurred in Heidelberg, in Erdmannsdörffer's seminar on Otto of Freising;[4] and under the influence of Henry Adams, Herbert B. Adams made the study of Germanic origins the foundation of the work at the new university.[5] The 'whole tenor of our researches at the J.H.U.', he wrote, 'is to show the continuity of English institutions in America.'[6] The first number of the *Johns Hopkins University Studies* was *An introduction to American institutional history* by Freeman; and other early contributions to the series written by Adams himself were *The Germanic origin of New England towns* and *Saxon tithingmen in America*. When it was proposed, in 1890, to promote Adams and confer upon him the title of Professor of American History, he replied to the President, 'I have no ambition to be known as Professor of American History. At least five-sixths of my three years' course of lectures to graduates and *all* of my undergraduate classes are in the European field. I do not object to the phrase "Institutional History", for that describes very happily the nature of my university work in class and seminary. As "Professor of Institutional History" I could have a fair field for comparative studies in Church and State . . . without being regarded as an American provincial.'[7]

This European domination led to a revolt; and it came from within the gates of the citadel itself. By 1923, it was necessary for Haskins to argue that 'while American history is our first business, it is not our sole business';[8] so far had the revolt been carried. The leader was Frederick Jackson Turner.[9]

[1] Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 131. [2] Adams, *The study of history* . . . , p. 236.
[3] Holt, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 145–6.
[4] Adams, *Methods of historical study* . . . , pp. 66–7.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 101; *cf.* W. C. Ford, *Letters of Henry Adams* (1930), pp. 235–7.
[6] Holt, *op. cit.*, p. 55; *cf.* Adams, *Methods* . . . , pp. 14–15; Baker, *op. cit.*, i. 174.
[7] Holt, *op. cit.*, pp. 145–6. [8] *Am. Hist. Rev.* xxviii. (1923), 215.
[9] For a list of 'References on the life and work of Frederick Jackson Turner' see *The early writings of Frederick Jackson Turner* (Madison, 1938), pp. 269–72

Turner became a fellow of Johns Hopkins in 1888, returning in 1889 as assistant professor to the University of Wisconsin, where he had previously been an instructor. He proceeded to his Ph.D. at Johns Hopkins in 1890, the subject of his thesis being 'The character and influence of the Indian trade in Wisconsin.'[1] At Johns Hopkins, he was intimate with Woodrow Wilson, five years his senior, and at that date a special lecturer at the University.[2] Wilson himself had been restive as a student under Adams, finding his lectures thin and being oppressed by the insistent concentration upon institutional history.[3] In reviewing in *The Dial*, in 1889, Roosevelt's *Winning of the West*, Turner wrote:

> America's historians have for the most part, like the wise men of old, come from the East; and as a result our history has been written from the point of view of the Atlantic coast . . . But the American occupation of the Mississippi basin has not found its historian. General United States history should be built upon the fact that the centre of gravity of the nation has passed across the mountains into this great region. To give to our history the new proportions which this fact makes necessary, must be the work of the younger generation of students.[4]

In 1893, he read before the American Historical Association a paper entitled 'The Significance of the frontier in American history'.[5] He had read it to Woodrow Wilson before its delivery and found in him one who shared his discontent with the neglect of the West and the excessive importance attached to the 'expansion of New England.'[6] His essay was, in fact, notice that the leadership in the writing of American history had, for the time, passed to the Middle West.

Let me say at once, however, that I do not mean to suggest that, even in the field of American history itself, notable, most notable, historical work was not done in the East. In the nineties there came from Columbia G. L. Beer's *Commercial policy of England toward the American colonies*, published in 1893 when the author was only twenty years of age;[7] and

[1] *Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies, Ninth Series, nos. xi–xii.* (Baltimore, 1891), reprinted in *Early writings . . .* (1938).

[2] *Early writings . . .*, pp. 21, 24; R. S. Baker, *Woodrow Wilson. Life and letters* (8 vols., 1927–39), ii. 124–5.

[3] Holt, *op. cit.*, p. 90 n. 1; Baker, *op. cit.*, i. 178–80.

[4] *Early writings*, p. 22.

[5] Am. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report*, 1893 (Washington, 1894); State Historical Society of Wisconsin, *Proceedings*, xli. (Madison, 1894),; *The frontier in American history* (New York, 1920).

[6] Baker, *op. cit.*, ii. 125.

[7] *George Louis Beer, a tribute* (New York, 1924); A. P. Scott, 'George Louis Beer', in W. T. Hutchinson (ed.), *The Marcus W. Jernegan essays in American historiography* (Chicago, 1937), pp. 313–22.

W. A. Dunning's *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction* (1898). Burgess had been joined in 1890 by H. L. Osgood,[1] whom he had started upon his career at Amherst, and who, after a year in Berlin and an interval of school teaching, had spent fifteen months in London, where in consequence of some articles on socialism contributed to the *Political Science Quarterly* he became acquainted with members of the Fabian Society. The work of Beer was one of the firstfruits of the teaching of these two men. It was to be followed, after 1900, by a long series of monographic studies, in the same field, issuing from Columbia and culminating in Osgood's own *American colonies in the seventeenth century* (3 vols., 1904–7) and *American colonies in the eighteenth century* (4 vols., 1923), based throughout upon the records and laying new and massive foundations for the study of the colonial period.[2] Dunning [3] was also an early pupil of Burgess, taking his Ph.D. in 1885 and being appointed to the staff in 1886 ; and his *Essays*, than which nothing more penetrating has yet been written about the civil war and reconstruction, were likewise followed during the next twenty-five years by a whole series of *Columbia Studies* on the period of reconstruction. No less stimulating were two volumes by C. A. Beard, a Columbian Ph.D. of 1904, on *The economic interpretation of the Constitution* (1913) and *The Economic origins of Jeffersonian democracy* (1915), which opened a new chapter in the study of the political ideas of that period. With the emphasis of the later work of Osgood falling upon the eighteenth century, the appointment of C. M. Andrews to Yale in 1910 gave the lead in work upon the history of the American colonies in the seventeenth century to that university.[4] At the same time, it was in the East that there was elaborated that technical apparatus which the new school of history required. An immense influence was exercised by the multifarious activities of the American Historical Association, and by the *American Historical Review*, of which J. Franklin Jameson was editor from 1895 to 1901 and from 1905 to 1927. Close relations were established between students of history wherever at work throughout a continental area ; and the force of organised historical opinion was brought to bear upon the preservation

[1] D. R. Fox, *Herbert Levi Osgood. An American scholar* (New York, 1924) ; E. C. O. Beatty, ' Herbert Levi Osgood ', in W. T. Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 271–93.

[2] *Cf. History* xvii. (1933), 344–50.

[3] *Truth in History and other essays by William A. Dunning. With an introduction by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton* (New York, 1937).

[4] L. H. Gipson, *Charles McLean Andrews and the re-orientation of the study of American colonial history. Circular no. 112. Studies in the Humanities, no. 17* (The Institute of Research, Lehigh Univ., Bethlehem, Pa., 1935).

and publication of historical records and the elevation of the standards of historical writing.[1] From the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution under A. C. McLaughlin (1903–5) and J. Franklin Jameson (1905–28)[2] came a long series of guides to materials for American history to be found in foreign archives, followed in later years by important documentary publications; and the annual bibliography of *Writings on American History* was started by that Institution with the year 1903, and has been continuously issued by one body or another since 1906. As custodian of the Library of Congress from 1899 to 1939, Dr. Putnam created for historians a scientific instrument of research of the first quality. The profession was supplied with a standard secondary authority by the issue, under the general editorship of A. B. Hart of Harvard, of the *American Nation* in 26 volumes between 1904 and 1908; and from Harvard came in 1912 that indispensable handbook of all students of American history, the *Guide to the study and reading of American history*, based upon an earlier work of 1896.[3]

Yet it remains true that the most distinctive feature of American historiography in the generation after 1890 was the work of the Middle Western school. The thesis presented in Turner's essay was that down to his own day American history had been in a large degree the history of the colonisation of the Great West, and that the existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward explained American development. There had been a constant return to primitive conditions on a continuously advancing frontier. 'This perennial rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities, its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces dominating American character.'[4] The true point of view, therefore, 'is not the Atlantic coast, it is the Great West.' 'Too exclusive attention', he wrote, with an eye on Johns Hopkins, 'has been paid by institutional students to the Germanic origins, too little to the American factors.' Each successive frontier had left behind it its

[1] F. J. Jameson, 'Early days of the American Historical Association, 1884–1895', *Am. Hist. Rev.* xl. (1935), 1–9; 'The American Historical Association, 1884–1909', *Am. Hist. Rev.* xv. (1910), 1–20; *Historical scholarship in America . . . A report by the committee of the American Historical Association* . . . (New York, 1932), pp. 6–9; G. W. Prothero, 'The American Historical Association'. The Historical Association, *Leaflet* 27 (Jan. 1912).

[2] *Am. Hist. Rev.* xliii. (1938), 243–52.

[3] E. Channing, A. B. Hart and F. J. Turner, *Guide to the study and reading of American history* (Ginn & Co., 1912).

[4] *Early writings* . . . , p. 187.

characteristic influence. 'The advance of the frontier has meant a steady movement away from the influence of Europe, a steady growth of independence on American lines. And to study this advance, . . . is to study the really American part of our history.'[1] To this argument, there are, it will be observed, two branches; and there has been a tendency, encouraged by Turner himself, to lay the greater stress upon that which has the lesser validity. That which was indisputable was that the true point of view for the understanding of American history was the West; that the fundamental fact of American history down to the year 1890 was the settlement of a continent. That which was more doubtful was the contention that that which is characteristically American derives overwhelmingly from a specialised frontier psychology and institutional frontier peculiarities which are the product of frontier conditions. And so much ink has been spilled in controversy about the subsidiary argument, that there is some danger of Turner's contribution to the development of American historiography getting out of focus. The important feature is that the centre of interest shifted from federal politics to the history of states and minor localities; from European origins to American environment and American experience; from constitutional forms to the vital forces that call these organs into life.

> Every day [wrote Henry Adams in 1890, referring to the year 1806] a million men went to their work, every evening they came home with some work accomplished; but the result was matter for a census rather than for history. The acres brought into cultivation, the cattle bred, the houses built, proved no doubt that human beings, like ants and bees, could indefinitely multiply their numbers, and could lay up stores of food; but these statistics offered no evidence that the human being, any more than the ant and bee, was conscious of a higher destiny, or was even mechanically developing into a more efficient animal.[2]

And these matters therefore had no place in the *History of the United States*. What Adams was thus ready to pass by was precisely what Turner set out to study. Turner himself never, indeed, wrote a big book. It would scarcely be unjust to say that he never finished a book at all, for even about those volumes that were not in form collections of separate papers there was something fragmentary and incomplete. Yet between 1893 and his death in 1938, no one exercised so far-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 188–9.

[2] H. Adams, *History of the United States of America during the second administration of Thomas Jefferson* (2 vols. New York, 1890), i. 212.

reaching an influence upon the study and writing of American history as he did.

Second only to Turner in the creation of the Middle Western school was C. W. Alvord.[1] An easterner by origin, with two years in Berlin and a brief period in Chicago, Alvord began by teaching history and mathematics at the preparatory school of the University of Illinois, and was appointed an instructor in History at the University itself in 1901. It was characteristic of what was going on in the American historical world that he taught European history, with the Italian renaissance as the main field of his interest. In 1905, he was sent by the Illinois State Historical Society to examine an early French document in one of the Illinois towns of the Mississippi valley settled by the French in the eighteenth century, and there discovered what remained of the archives of the French and Virginian administration of the Illinois country from 1720 to 1790. From that day he became the architect of an Illinois school of American history that quickly took the lead in the Middle West. Performing immense labours in the promotion of historical activities in the State of Illinois and in the Mississippi valley at large, to which I shall presently return, his own principal contribution was his two-volume *The Mississippi Valley in British politics. A study of the trade, land speculation, and experiments in Imperialism culminating in the American Revolution*, published in 1917. The book satisfied both the canon of Osgood and Beer, in that it was a study of British policy and not a study of results in ignorance of the policy from which they flowed, and the canon of Turner, in that the explanation was sought in the history of westward expansion; and Alvord thus set the problem in a new light and saw further into it than anyone had seen before.

The fruit of this alliance of scientific method with a western outlook, towards which the first steps were thus taken in Wisconsin and Illinois, was the appearance in one after another of the universities of the upper Mississippi valley of teachers and writers whose work could be grouped under the name of a Middle Western School. Their books came thick from the presses from 1910 onwards.

But the growth of this school was not confined to the universities. There were two other centres of activity,—the State historical societies and the State departments of archives

[1] S. J. Buck, 'Clarence Walworth Alvord, historian', *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.* xv. (1929), 309–20; M. Dargan, jr., 'Clarence Walworth Alvord', in W. T. Hutchinson (ed.), *The Marcus W. Jernegan essays in American historiography* (Chicago, 1937), pp. 323–38.

and history.[1] Writing to Herbert B. Adams from Brown University in 1890, Franklin Jameson said:

> I consider the hope of good historical writing in the future to rest with the teachers, now that the instruction of graduates has reached such an extension as to make 'Schools', personal followings, and the learning of the trade possible. The historical societies I consider of little account intellectually, except as trustees of material and as possible furtherers of publication.[2]

In the fifty years which have elapsed since that letter was written, the history of the societies has been a history of infiltration by the trained historian; and infiltration has, with some notable exceptions, been much slower in the East than in the West. In the Mississippi valley, indeed, infiltration is sometimes not the right word at all, for the trained historian has been in control from the start.

The eastern societies were many of them of venerable antiquity. The oldest of them was the Massachusetts Historical Society, founded in 1791. It was followed by the New York Historical Society, 1804; the American Antiquarian Society, 1812; the Rhode Island Historical Society, 1822; the Maine Historical Society and the New Hampshire Historical Society, 1823; the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1824; the Connecticut Historical Society, 1825; and the Virginia Historical Society, 1831. Such societies were privately endowed and often exclusive. They had strong antiquarian and genealogical interests. Their attention was concentrated upon the colonial, revolutionary, and at latest the early constitutional periods. They had fostered historical interest when history had been neglected by the universities; but they had contributed, and most of them have yet contributed, very little to the study of the history of the United States in the nineteenth century.

> In five years' work in Washington, [wrote Franklin Jameson in 1910], so circumstanced that I am likely to know of historical researches undertaken in national archives or library, I have hardly known an instance in which the publishing authorities of any eastern historical society have set on foot any serious researches in these great and rich repositories. Seldom indeed do they touch the period since 1783.[3]

[1] J. P. Boyd, 'State and local historical societies in the United States', *Am. Hist. Rev.* xl. (1935), 10–37; E. B. Greene, 'Our pioneer historical societies', *Indiana Hist. Soc. Publication* x., no. 2 (1931); C. Crittenden and D. Godard (eds.), *Historical societies in the United States and Canada. A handbook.* The Am. Assoc. for State and Local History (Washington, 1944).

[2] Holt, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

[3] J. F. Jameson, 'The present state of historical writing in America', *Proceedings of the Am. Antiq. Soc.*, N.S. xx. (1911), 413–14.

Their publications consisted of annual reports, transactions, and ' collections ' of documentary but often also of secondary material. They contributed little to historical journalism. The genealogical societies produced the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (1874 +), and the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* (1870 +). But the only journals of long standing which have been issued by the older historical societies are the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (1877 +) and the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (1893 +).

The history of the societies founded in the states of the Mississippi valley has been very different.[1] They have commonly received state support ; their work has been more or less systematically correlated with that of the State Departments of Archives and History upon the one hand and with the popularisation of historical knowledge upon the other ; and they have been closely associated with the historical departments of the state universities. The details of their organisation have varied from state to state, depending largely upon the geographical distribution of the state capital, the university, and the society itself. Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Minnesota have been the most vigorous of the states in the promotion and organisation of historical work. The oldest surviving historical societies in the Mississippi valley are the Indiana Historical Society (1830) and the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society (1831). The first destined to become state historical societies were those of Wisconsin and Minnesota, established in 1849. But these early historical societies of the Mississippi valley were very much like their eastern fellows. They were largely under the control of journalists and retired politicians ; their interests were antiquarian and anecdotal ; their meetings were opportunities for the display of rhetorical elegance : the first annual address of the President of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, delivered in the presence of the judges of the Supreme Court and the Board of Regents, ' elaborated in its researches and felicitous in its style ', was approvingly described as ' classical in its tone and pervaded throughout with a spirit of accuracy and of beauty.' [2]

[1] A. H. Shearer, ' State historical societies,' *New York State Historical Assoc. Quart. Journ.* iii. (1922), in *Proceedings of the New York State Hist. Assoc.*, xx. 195–204 ; E. B. Greene, ' Report of conference on the work of state and local historical societies ', *Am. Hist. Assoc. Rept.* (1907), p. i ; (1908), pp. 49–64 ; S. J. Buck, ' The progress and possibilities of Mississippi Valley history ', *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.* x. (1924), 5–20.

[2] L. P. Kellog, ' The services and collections of Lyman Copeland Draper ', *Wisconsin Mag. of Hist.* v. (1922), 246 ; *Collections of the State Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin*, i. (Reprint, 1903), p. xxxix.

Their publications, though bearing such titles as 'collections', were in fact for the more part devoted to reminiscences, biographical sketches, obituaries, and proceedings. The landmarks in the establishment of a new order are the coöperation of Turner with Thwaites at the Wisconsin State Historical Society, which began in 1888; the association of Alvord with the work of the Illinois State Historical Library in 1905; the founding of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in 1907 and of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* in 1914;[1] the appointment of the Michigan Historical Commission in 1913, when it took over the collections and the publishing activities of the Pioneer and Historical Society of Michigan; the re-organisation of the Minnesota Historical Society in 1915, when it was made an organ of the state; and the organisation of a Department of History and Archives of the Indiana State Library in 1914, and of the Indiana Historical Survey of the Indiana Historical Commission in 1916.

Ohio has been embarrassed by the vigour of the sects which have thriven within it, and its divisions have no doubt been largely due to its geographical position and the history of its settlement, which made it the uncongenial meeting place of streams of population drawn from very diverse sources. Neither of its two rival societies, the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio (Cincinnati) and the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society (Columbus), was able to dominate the State;[2] and the latter, the more active of the two, laid emphasis upon archaeology rather than history. Only within quite recent years have there been signs of successful organisation under the leadership of the University. In Indiana and Iowa, geography has also presented difficulties; and Iowa was embarrassed by the removal of the capital from Iowa City to Des Moines in 1857 and the establishment of the State Department of History there in 1882. But the two states are conspicuous for the careful coördination, in rather different combinations in each, of the activities of the university, concerned with research; the State Department, concerned with the collection, and the historical society concerned with the publication, of historical materials; and in both States much attention has been given to the historical

[1] *Bull. Instit. Hist. Res.* ii. (1924), 31–6.

[2] W. H. Siebert, 'The future of the Ohio Valley Historical Association', *Ohio Hist. Teachers' Journ.* xix. (1920), 183–9; *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, i. (1915), 61; ii. (1916), 104; C. E. Carter, 'Some notes on Ohio historiography', *Ohio Arch. & Hist. Pubs.* xxviii. (1919), 185; F. P. Weisenberger, 'A half century of the writing of history in Ohio', *ibid.* xliv. (1935), 326–52.

education of the general public.[1] In Michigan, the re-organisation was principally due to C. H. van Tyne, professor of History in the University of Michigan; and by 1923 the *Collections* had become a scientific documentary series; the University was issuing a series of monographic studies of state history; and the Commission was active in the collection of historical materials and the stimulation of public interest in historical matters.[2] But the lead in the establishment of a new order came from Wisconsin, Illinois, and Minnesota.

The state of Wisconsin has the oldest and richest tradition in historical scholarship of the Mississippi valley. The founder of this tradition was Lyman Copeland Draper.[3] Born in 1815 and in the main self-educated, Draper began as a boy to collect materials for the history of the trans-Alleghany pioneers, and before he was twenty-five had entered into a correspondence, which was to continue throughout his life, with prominent pioneers or their descendants. This correspondence he began in 1840 to supplement with personal interviews, to secure which he travelled for nearly a quarter of a century, and at intervals thereafter, up and down the backwoods of New York, Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia and Tennessee. In the course of these travels he collected a mass of original manuscript material going back as far as the year 1756. To the collection of this, he presently added that of newspapers. On the reorganisation in 1859 of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, founded in 1849, Draper was, through the influence of his friend Judge Larabee, appointed its secretary. At the outset of his administration, the Society's library contained fifty volumes. By the date of his retirement in 1886, it had grown to over 118,000 volumes, and contained, as well, a large collection of pamphlets and manuscripts, to which, after his death in 1891, were added the Draper manuscripts themselves. Draper's own writings were fragmentary. His chief work as an historian was the

[1] *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.* i. (1915), 241–2, 333; J. A. Woodburn, 'The Indiana Historical Society, a hundred years', *Indiana Hist. Soc. Pub.* x. (1930), 5–6; B. F. Shambaugh, 'A brief history of the State Historical Society of Iowa', *Iowa Journ. of Hist. & Politics* i. (1903), 139–52; B. F. Shambaugh, 'The Iowa school of research historians', *Miss. Valley Hist. Assoc. Proc.* iv. (1910–1), 152; L. B. Schmidt, 'The activities of the State Historical Society of Iowa', *Hist. Teachers' Mag.* vi. (1915), 75–81.

[2] G. N. Fuller, 'Historical work in Michigan', *Mich. Hist. Mag.* vii. (1923), 232–47; *Am. Hist. Rev.* xxxv. (1930), 941; G. N. Fuller, 'The Michigan Historical Commission', *Michigan Historical Commission, Bulletin No. 1* (1913).

[3] R. G. Thwaites, *The State Historical Society of Wisconsin* (Madison, 1898); R. G. Thwaites, 'Lyman Copeland Draper', in *Collections of the State Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin*, i. (Reprint, 1903), pp. ix–xxix; L. P. Kellog, 'The services and collections of Lyman Copeland Draper', *Wisconsin Mag. of Hist.* v. (1922), 244–63.

editing and publication of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, the first volume of which was published in 1855, for the first ten of which he was responsible, and in the preparation of which he was a pioneer in making available the original materials for the history of the frontier. In 1887, Draper was succeeded by R. G. Thwaites,[1] who held office until 1913. A prodigious worker, Thwaites wrote some fifteen historical works, and edited and published something like 168 volumes. But he was pre-eminently an organiser. He separated the *Proceedings* from the *Collections*, making the latter purely documentary publications ; and above all he strengthened the connection between the Society and the university, securing the association of State Historical Society and university library in a single building on the university campus, offering new facilities and greater freedom of work in the Society's collections, and admitting Turner, as a young instructor, to hold a seminar in the library. When the Society was newly housed in 1901 in a building after Thwaites' own plan, the library became, in Turner's words, ' one of America's greatest historical workshops.' [2] ' Draper ', Turner concluded, ' was the founder ; Thwaites was the great historical editor and moderniser, the builder of a new type of state historical society.' [3] In 1914, Alvord read to the Mississippi Valley Historical Association a ' Critical analysis of the work of Reuben Gold Thwaites' which is a model of discriminating eulogy. He praised him as a man of business and an editor ; the first to supply the Middle West on a generous scale with a collection of printed sources ; the first to unite the state historical agency and the university department so that they gave each other mutual assistance ; the maker of the Society in its modern shape and a great populariser of scientific history ; not a great writer of history ; but one whose services to historical study in the West had been of the first order.[4] Thwaites was succeeded as Superintendent in 1914 by M. M. Quaife, who began the publication of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* in 1917 ; and he, in turn, by Joseph Schafer in 1920.[5] Schafer, a pupil of Turner's, who returned to Wisconsin after

[1] *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.* i. (1915), 158–9 ; F. J. Turner, *Reuben Gold Thwaites : a memorial address* (Madison, 1914) ; C. W. Alvord, ' A critical analysis of the work of Reuben Gold Thwaites ', *Miss. Valley Hist. Assoc. Proc.* vii. (1914), 321–33.

[2] Turner, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–8 ; J. Schafer, ' Coöperation between state universities and state historical societies ', *Tenn. Hist. Mag.* vii. (1921–2), 69–73.

[3] *Ibid.*, 58.

[4] Alvord, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Joseph Schafer, student of agriculture* (State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, 1942).

twenty years at the University of Oregon, wrote during his period of office, a *History of Agriculture in Wisconsin* and three volumes of a history of the settlement of the state,[1] which lay the foundations for the history of Wisconsin more securely than they have been laid for any other Middle Western state, and are both a model of what should be done elsewhere and full of interest for students of primitive settlements of which no such records have survived as are available for the history of the nineteenth century.

What Alvord admired in Wisconsin he himself achieved in Illinois. The Illinois State Historical Society, founded in 1899, was a private organisation, though receiving support from the state to the extent of the publication of its *Transactions* by the State Historical Library ; it had a large membership ; and it was mainly occupied with the popularisation of history. Alvord turned, therefore, to the State Historical Library, founded in 1889, for an ally with the university in the promotion of the scientific study of the history of the state of Illinois. He himself became the editor of the Library's *Illinois Historical Collections* [2] in 1904, and produced, between then and 1919, volumes 2 to 15 of the series. He procured in 1911 the appointment by the legislature of a commission to make plans for a state education building to house the Historical Library, the society, the department of education, and allied interests. With the assistance of a report on the ' Public archives and historical interests of the state of Illinois ', prepared for the Commission by Dr. Leland in 1913, he further secured inclusion in the plan of provision for a public archive.[3] The building at Springfield was finally completed in 1923. At the same time as he was doing this, Alvord created in the University of Illinois at Urbana an organisation, formally established in 1915 as a permanent department under the name of the Illinois Historical Survey, for the scientific study of state history.[4] ' No books ', he wrote in 1908, ' have been printed on the West previous to the Revolution that will not be completely superseded by the work of real research.' [5] The *Illinois Historical Collections* under his hand became the model for the publications of state agencies in the historical field ; and the

[1] *Four Wisconsin Counties* (1927) ; *The Wisconsin Lead Region* (1932) ; *The Winnebago-Horicon Basin* (1937). The State Hist. Soc. of Wisc., Madison.

[2] T. C. Pease, ' The Illinois Historical Collections ', *Ill. Hist. Soc. Trans.* (1922), pp. 66–8.

[3] *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.* i. (1915), 58–9; vii. (1921), 127.

[4] *Ibid.*, i. (1915), 59, 65 ; ii. (1916), 75 ; *cf. Miss. Valley Hist. Assoc. Proc.* i. (1909), 98–110.

[5] *Miss. Valley Hist. Assoc. Proc.* i. (1909), 108.

creation of a public archive in association with State Historical Library and State Historical Society added a new element to the historical equipment of the Middle West.

In 1914, Dr. S. J. Buck, now Archivist of the United States, who had worked under Alvord in Illinois, became Superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, and carried to that state the lessons learnt in Illinois and Wisconsin. An act of the legislature in 1915, assuring the erection of a new building for the Society at St. Paul, provided also for the care in that building of the state archives ;[1] and the Society became one of the most highly organised in the Middle West and closely associated with the work of the University of Minnesota.[2] The publication of *Minnesota History* began in 1915.

While, however, activities similar, if on a less magnificent scale, spread in Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska, for long they made very little progress below the mouth of the Ohio river. Higher education could not thrive in the ruin left in the South by the Civil War ; the universities lagged behind those of the North, and the local historical societies remained in the hands of the unskilled.[3] The states of the lower Mississippi valley show, in consequence, some of the most conspicuous blanks in the American historical map. Very little scientific work has yet been done upon the history of Kentucky. We know something about the history of the settlement of Tennessee and Alabama and about the early history of political parties in those areas, but next to nothing about the settlement of Arkansas, Mississippi, or Louisiana after the French and Spanish period. Only very lately have the departments of history in the universities entered the field of state history, and little more has yet been achieved by them than the improvement of the state historical journals, sometimes, as in Louisiana, by the university securing control of the existing journal ; sometimes by the organisation of a new society and the launching of a new journal, as in the case of the East Tennessee Historical Society, with its *Publications*. The most important of such early advances as were made were the work, not of the universities or of the state historical societies, but of State Departments of Archives and History. Attention was called by the American Historical Association during the late nineties to the general neglect of state archives ; in 1899, a Public Archives Commission was appointed by the Association ; and

[1] *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.* i. (1915), 240.

[2] *Cf.* S. J. Buck, 'The Minnesota Historical Society', *Mich. Hist. Mag.* iv. (1920), 688–716.

[3] *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.* i. (1915), 333, 400–4.

between 1900 and 1913, reports were published on the archives of thirty-five of the states. The result was the adoption in many states of legislation aiming at reform. In some states, the care of the records was entrusted to the office of the Secretary of State; in some, it was handed over to some such institution as the state historical society or the state library; in others, there was established a new department of archives and history. Two of these last were to become the principal influences in the promotion of the more scientific study of history in the lower Mississippi valley. They were the Alabama Department of Archives and History, established in 1901, and the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, established in 1902. A History Commission, with similar functions, was established in Arkansas in 1905.[1] In Alabama and Mississippi this action had been preceded by the appointment of History Commissions to report on materials for the history of the states. Under the chairmanship of T. M. Owen, an outstanding southern historian and later first permanent president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association,[2] a valuable *Report* on the materials for the history of Alabama was published in 1901. The chairman of the Mississippi Commission was F. L. Riley, professor in the University of Mississippi, secretary and re-organiser of the Mississippi Historical Society, and a graduate of H. B. Adams' seminar at Johns Hopkins;[3] and that Commission also produced a valuable report.[4] Owen was appointed the first State Archivist of Alabama, and did work of much distinction; but he died prematurely, at the age of 53, in 1920.[5] Dunbar Rowland,[6] appointed first Archivist of the state of Mississippi, arranged in scientific order a great mass of archival material, made important additions to the collection, and supervised for the Mississippi Historical Society the issue of a series of *Publications*. But the soil was too thin for the labours of these men to become as fruitful as they should have

[1] T. C. Blegen, 'A report on the public archives.' The State Hist. Soc. of Wisc., *Bull. of Information, no. 94* (1918), pp. 30–62; *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.* i. (1915), 404, 405; ii. (1916), 534–5.

[2] *Miss. Valley Hist. Assoc. Proc.* i. (1909), 98.

[3] *Am. Hist. Rev.* xxxv. (1930), 432; *Herbert B. Adams. Tributes of friends* (Baltimore, 1902), *s.v.*; C. S. Sydnor, 'Historical activities in Mississippi in the nineteenth century', *Journ. Southern History* iii. (1937), 139–60; F. L. Riley, 'The work of the Mississippi Historical Society, 1898–1908', *Miss. Hist. Soc. Pub.* x. (1909), 35–45.

[4] *Report of the Alabama History Commission to the Governor of Alabama, December 1, 1900. Publications of the Alabama Hist. Soc. Miscellaneous Collections* vol. i. (Montgomery, 1901); *Report of the Mississippi Historical Commission. Publications of the Mississippi Hist. Soc.* vol. v. (Oxford, Miss., 1902).

[5] *Am. Hist. Rev.* xxv. (1920), p. 562.

[6] *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.* xxiv. (1938), 609.

been ; and the promise of forty years ago is still unfulfilled.

To the work of the historians of the Mississippi valley there has to be added that of the historians of the great plains and the mountain states. The structure of historical activities in the West and Southwest is that of the Middle West rather than of the lower Mississippi valley. The universities of the Middle Border stand upon the edges of the northern plains, and the lead in the Southwest has been taken by the Universities of Texas and Oklahoma ; and much of the history of the cattle country and of the sod-house frontier has been filled in. But the tide of scientific history has not yet covered the mountain states, the history of the mining frontier is not yet written, and the work of the state historical societies at Bismarck and Pierre, at Cheyenne, Helena, and Boise is only in its beginnings. The most notable contribution to the understanding of the West has, by common consent, been Professor W. P. Webb's *The Great Plains* (1931). But although it is clear that much that is true of the valley does not hold for the plains, the work that has been done in this field has been an enlargement and elaboration of that of the Middle Western school rather than, in a larger point of view, any radical revision of it.

These multifarious activities, academic and other, have, for the most part since 1900, resulted in the foundation of a host of new journals and the publication of a whole library of monographic literature, which has put a quite new complexion upon American history, so that the *American Nation* (1904–7), summing up the older learning, has become a bourn beyond which, save in the search for documentary material or biographical detail, the student of to-day need seldom travel. The result was also to isolate and to atomise American history. The student turned inward, to the almost complete neglect of the external world ; and, within the boundaries of the United States, devoted himself more and more to the history of some particular aspect or region. But there are signs that the disease carried within itself its own remedy. Two features will at once attract the attention of the observer of the American historical scene to-day ; and they have an organic connection with one another. They are the cultivation of social history,[1] and the growing interest in the history of the American mind. Their relation consists in the fact that, on the one hand, if social history is to be more than the collection of *bric-à-brac* overlooked by previous historians, it must become a history of popular psychology, and that, on the other, the study of the history of the American mind looks like becoming the study,

[1] W. E. Lingelbach (ed.), *Approaches to American social history* (1937).

not merely of the highest intellectual achievements of that mind, but also of its more ordinary operations. In this convergence of interests may perhaps be found the idea which will reduce to intelligible order the disparate studies of to-day. But there is also a larger re-integration in progress. The Southwestern and Californian school, of which the leader is Professor H. E. Bolton, working in an area in which the social foundations are Spanish, finds itself driven to make of American history more than the history of the United States.[1] At the same time, the students of immigration, of whom M. L. Hansen was the most notable,[2] working in the heart of the Middle West itself, came to a similar conclusion. It became clear that the force which uprooted the German peasant of the Palatinate or the Irish peasant of Munster was the same as that which set the farmer of Vermont in motion for the industrial towns of Massachusetts or the new lands of the Mississippi valley ; and a call has come for a study of the Atlantic basin which shall be quick to discover a Vermont in Ulster or in the Argentine a Middle Border, and ready to look even at the slave trade itself as a chapter in such a story. If this happens, a new significance will be given to American diplomatic history. American diplomatic history is a subject which I have neglected. It has attracted many workers during the last forty years, and the equipment gathered together in Washington for its study can be equalled in few capitals of the world. But, while in the Latin American field, where the problems have long been brooded upon, work of great interest has been done, much of the other output has been immature and jejune. A recent publication of the Department of Commerce, *The United States in the World Economy*,[3] shows what the history of American foreign relations might be. If it were to develop in that way, it would become one of the most powerful instruments of reintegration. It would also become one of the most difficult of historical pursuits.

Taking a long view, it looks, therefore, as though we were again somewhere about the turning of a page where one chapter ends and another opens. I think, indeed, that the new chapter has been begun.

[1] H. E. Bolton, *Wider horizons of American history* (1939).

[2] *The immigrant in American history* (Cambridge, Mass., 1940) ; *The Atlantic migration, 1607–1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941).

[3] Govt. Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1943 ; H.M.S.O., 1944.

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REPORT OF THE COUNCIL. SESSION 1943–44

THE Council of the Royal Historical Society have the honour of presenting the Annual Report to the Anniversary Meeting as follows :—

The premises of the Society suffered further superficial damage from enemy action in the summer of 1944; but no harm was done to the Society's Library, and the regular meetings of the Society were maintained throughout the session.

In the course of the session, the Society received under the will of Miss Eileen Marion Robinson, a Fellow of the Society, a legacy of her notes and memoranda relating to her study of the books, pictures, and archives of Alleyn's College of God's Gift, Dulwich, where she had held an appointment as Guide Lecturer, together with a reversionary bequest of the residue of her estate, it being the wish of Miss Robinson that the Society should apply the same "to further the study of history and particularly and primarily to collate the manuscripts, muniments, pictures and archives of Alleyn's College of God's Gift", upon which she had spent such time as she had been able to spare and which she declared herself to be convinced were an untapped source of social history. The Council decided to accept the bequest of Miss Robinson's notes and memoranda. They have under consideration the practicability of carrying out the wishes of Miss Robinson in regard to the employment of her residuary estate, and have reserved the acceptance of this pending further examination of the matter.

Of the publications in preparation, which were mentioned in the last report of Council, there have been distributed, during the session 1943–44, *Transactions*, Fourth Series, Volume XXVI, and Dr. Albert Peel's edition of the *Notebook of John Penry, 1593* (Camden Third Series, Volume LXVII). Miss L. Margaret Midgley's second volume of *Ministers' accounts of the earldom of Cornwall, 1296–97* (Camden Third Series, Volume LXVIII) and Miss Mary Coate's *Letter-book of John Viscount Mordaunt, 1658–60* (Camden Third Series, Volume LXIX), were both in the press at the close of the

session, and will be ready for issue during 1944–45, together with *Transactions*, Fourth Series, Volume XXVII, and the facsimile edition of *The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church, Canterbury*, edited by Professor D. C. Douglas. *The Domesday Monachorum* will be distributed to subscribers in accordance with the arrangements announced in the report of Council for the session 1941–42 (*Transactions*, Fourth Series, Volume XXVI, pp. 84–85). The Council have accepted for publication a volume for the series of Guides and Handbooks to be entitled *A Handbook of dates for students of English history*.

The Council have appointed Miss Kathleen Edwards to carry out certain work in preparation of the volumes of *Writings on British History, 1938* and *1939*, in order to reduce the arrears which will fall to be made up when publication of this series can be resumed.

The Council have awarded the David Berry Prize for Scottish history between the reigns of James I and James VI to the Reverend Professor A. F. Scott Pearson, D.Th., D.Litt., for an essay on "Anglo-Scottish religious relations, 1400–1600". The prize, established in 1929, is offered every three years. The present is the second award, the first having been made in 1938.

At the Annual General Meeting, held on 12 February, 1944, the Vice-Presidents retiring under By-law XVII were Miss E. M. Jamison and B. H. Sumner. Professor V. H. Galbraith and Professor C. K. Webster were elected to fill the vacancies. The Members of Council retiring under By-law XVII were Mrs. M. Dorothy George, R. Pares, Professor T. F. T. Plucknett and Dr. Cecilia M. Ady. Professor D. C. Douglas, P. Grierson, the Rev. Dom David Knowles and K. B. McFarlane were elected to fill the vacancies. Messrs. C. Ryland Beeby and Co. were appointed auditors for the year 1943–44.

The following papers were read during the session 1943–44:—

"Petitions for Benefices from English Universities during the Great Schism." By Professor E. F. Jacob. (16 October 1943.)

"Bismarck and the Three Emperors' Alliance, 1881–87." By W. N. Medlicott. (13 November 1943.)

"John Evelyn." By E. S. de Beer. (11 December 1943.)

"The Iconography of Queen Elizabeth." By H. M Hake. (15 January 1944.)

"The Organisation of Private Armies in Fourteenth Century England." By N. B. Lewis. (11 March 1944.)

" The History of the Channel Islands—a Programme." By John Le Patourel. (13 May 1944.)

The President, Professor F. M. Stenton, was unable through illness to be present at the Anniversary Meeting on 12 February, 1944, and his address on " The Danish Colonies in England and Normandy " was read by Mrs. F. M. Stenton. The Alexander Medal was awarded to the Rev. E. W. Kemp for his essay entitled " Pope Alexander III and the Canonization of Saints ". The essay was read on 10 June, 1944. The Presidential address, together with the papers by Professor E. F. Jacob, N. B. Lewis, and W. N. Medlicott, and the Alexander Prize essay are being printed in *Transactions*, Fourth Series, Volume XXVII.

The Council record with regret the deaths of 24 Fellows ; amongst these the Council would especially mention Professor C. M. Andrews, a Corresponding Member from 1910 until his death ; Dr. C. S. B. Buckland, a member of Council 1935–1939 and 1940–1943 ; and Dr. Hubert Hall, a member of Council 1887–1923, Hon. Secretary 1894–1903, Director 1891–1938, Vice-President 1923–1927, Hon. Vice-President from 1939 until his death. In addition, 2 Fellows and 1 Associate have been lost by resignation. Nineteen Fellows, 3 of whom had been Associates, and 2 Associates have been elected and 8 libraries have been admitted as Subscribing Libraries. One Fellow has been reinstated. The membership of the Society on 31 October, 1944, was 783 Fellows, including Ordinary, Life, and Honorary Fellows and Corresponding Members, and 47 Associates ; there were 300 Subscribing Libraries, including 20 in enemy or enemy-occupied territory. Of the Fellows, 1 was Honorary, 32 were Corresponding and 171 were Life Fellows. There were 24 Societies, British and foreign, which exchanged their publications with the *Transactions* and Camden Series. Nine of these Societies have been in enemy or enemy-occupied territory and no exchange has been possible.

The Treasurer reports that the income of the year 1943–44 exceeded the expenditure chargeable against it by £508 5*s.* 4*d.* This surplus has been allocated, as to £475 17*s.* 1*d.* to the " Writings on British History " Production Account, and as to £32 8*s.* 3*d.* to the General Income and Expenditure Account. The sum of £1,050 was granted for publications, being the same amount as for the previous year. During the year, £879 3*s.* 6*d.* Conversion Stock 5% was redeemed and the proceeds were

reinvested in £931 9*s.* 5*d.* Local Loans 3%. The profit of £53 0*s.* 5*d.* on redemption has been added to the General Income and Expenditure Account in the Balance Sheet. During the year under review, £1,000 Australia Mercantile Land and Finance Co., Ltd. 4% Debenture Stock, forming part of the Sir George Prothero bequest, was redeemed. The proceeds were reinvested in £1,049 6*s.* 9*d.* Local Loans 3%. The accumulation of surpluses again shown in the Society's accounts is due to the inability of the Society in war time to maintain its full programme of publications. But the accumulated reserves will enable arrears of publication to be made good as the opportunity offers.

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

I.—Income and Expenditure Account for the Year ended October 31, 1944.

Dr. Cr.

Expenditure.			£ s. d.
To Establishment Expenses :—			
Rent—96, Cheyne Walk	£214 14 0		
Rent—Warehousing of Stock	19 10 0		
Rates	60 13 0		
Fire Insurance	17 17 1		
Repairs	10 1 1		
Wages	52 0 0		
Extra Service and Cleaning	11 13 1		
Lighting and Heating	15 4 3		
National Insurance	5 19 3		
Workmen's Compensation Insurance	1 4 8		
War Damage Insurance	8 10 0		
Monthly Meetings—Refreshments	6 6 4		
		423 12 9	
„ Secretarial and Administrative Expenses :—			
Salary	400 0 0		
Typing	13 2 9		
General Printing and Stationery	74 2 2		
Accountancy and Audit	34 13 0		
Postages	29 15 4		
Telephone	10 1 10		
Travelling Expenses	4 2 0		
Sundries	13 9 11		
		579 7 0	
„ Library :—			
Grant		100 0 0	
„ Other Charges :—			
Friends of National Libraries	1 1 0		
British Records Association	1 0 0		
Alexander Medal	5 8 4		
		7 9 4	
„ Publications :—			
Directors' Honoraria	150 0 0		
Salary of Assistant Officer, less Army Pay	20 17 6		
Payment for Deputy's Services	25 0 0		
Premium on Pension Fund for Assistant Officer	27 9 7		
Grant for Publications £1,050 0 0			
Proceeds from Sales 117 5 7			
	1,167 5 7		
		1,390 12 8	
		2,501 1 9	
„ Balance, being Excess of Income over Expenditure for the year, transferred :—			
(*a*) to 'Writings on British History' Production Account	475 17 1		
(*b*) to General Income and Expenditure Account	32 8 3		
		508 5 4	

Income.			£ s. d.
By Arrears of Subscriptions Account			95 8 0
„ Subscriptions of 1944 :—			
46 Associates at 21s.	£48 6 0		
268 Libraries at 30s.	402 0 0		
543 Fellows at 42s.	1,140 6 0		
		1,590 12 0	
„ Life Subscriptions	139 3 0		
Less Proportion required by By-Law IX to be invested (see Balance Sheet)	91 8 0		
		47 15 0	
„ Proceeds from Sale of Publications		117 5 7	
„ Commission on Fire Insurance premiums (including arrears)		16 5 9	
„ Dividends on Investments and Tax recovered		336 9 11	
„ Interest on Deposit Account at Bank		6 11 8	
„ The Sir George W. Prothero Bequest :—			
Dividends on Investments and Tax recovered	794 6 3		
Royalties	4 12 11		
		798 19 2	

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

II.—Publications Account for the Year ended October 31, 1944.

Dr. | Cr.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Payments made during the Year:—		By Balance of Allocations at October 31, 1943, Brought Forward	2,546 15 3
Camden Third Series:—Vol. LXVII	289 12 7	„ Allocation for Publications 1943–44:—	
Transactions, Vol. XXVI	207 9 3	Grant £1,050 0 0	
Sundry Postage, Packing and Expenses	6 10 8	Proceeds of Sales 117 5 7	
	503 12 6		1,167 5 7
Balance of Allocations at October 31, 1944, Carried Forward	3,216 0 10	(As per Income and Expenditure Account)	
		„ Advance Subscriptions for "Domesday Monachorum"	5 12 6
	£3,719 13 4		£3,719 13 4

N.B.—There is an estimated liability of £1,420 due to the Printers, of which £180 is chargeable against the allocations for future years.

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

III.—Balance Sheet as at October 31, 1944.

Liabilities.				£	s.	d.
Life Subscriptions required to be invested as Capital Account (By-Law IX) :—						
Amount brought forward from last Balance Sheet	£2,142	0	0			
Add Proportion of Life Subscriptions received in 1944 (see Income and Expenditure Account)	91	8	0			
	2,233	8	0			
Less Amount transferred to General Income and Expenditure Account	78	8	0			
				2,155	0	0
Publications Reserve Fund :—						
Balance from last Account				1,000	0	0
Lease Renewal Fund :—						
Balance from last Account				112	0	4
Fund in Aid of Pensions :—						
Balance from last Account	2,656	4	6			
Less Payment to Miss M. B. Curran	200	0	0			
				2,456	4	6
Publications Account :—						
Balance of Allocations at October 31, 1944				3,216	0	10
Library Account :—						
Balance from last Account	148	11	4			
Grant for the year	100	0	0			
Receipts from sales of books withdrawn	1	10	6			
	250	1	10			
Less Expenditure during the year	75	4	8			
				174	17	2
Carried forward				£9,114	2	10

Assets.				£	s.	d.
Investments, viz. :—						
£699 9s. 9d. Consols 2½%, valued in 1920 at	£314	0	0			
£4,052 12s. 4d. Conversion Stock 3½% at cost	3,638	11	0			
£1,000 Defence Bonds 3% at cost	1,000	0	0			
£2,310 13s. 1d. Local Loans 3% at cost	2,230	17	5			
£400 Metropolitan Water Board 4½% "D" Stock at cost	470	1	0			
500 National Savings Certificates at cost	400	0	0			
£744 19s. 6d. National War Bonds 2½% 1945/47, at cost	750	0	0			
£296 4s. New Zealand 4% Stock, 1943/63, at cost	297	6	10			
£250 Savings Bonds 3% 1960/70, at cost	250	0	0			
				9,350	16	3
(Market Value at October 31, 1944, £10,098 6s. 9d.)						
Cash at Bank : Current Account	122	15	7			
Deposit Account	2,109	15	2			
„ in Hand	8	10	2			
				2,241	0	11
Stock of Publications :—						
Book value				600	0	0
Library :—						
Book value				1,000	0	0
Furniture, Etc. :—						
Book value				300	0	0
Subscriptions in Arrear estimated to be received				35	0	0
Carried forward				£13,526	17	2

Brought forward		£9,114	2 10
SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED IN ADVANCE		24	11 0
THE SIR GEORGE W. PROTHERO BEQUEST:—			
Balance from last Account	22,298 10 6		
Add Profit on redemption of Investments	5 0 0		
		22,303	10 6
"WRITINGS ON BRITISH HISTORY": PRODUCTION ACCOUNT:—			
Balance from last Account	424 2 11		
Add Amount transferred from Income and Expenditure Account	475 17 1		
		900	0 0
GENERAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT:—			
Balance of accumulated income at October 31, 1943	£3,324 6 8		
Add Profit on redemption of £879 3*s.* 6*d.* Conversion Stock 5%	53 0 5		
Amount transferred from Life Subscriptions Account	78 8 0		
Excess of Income over Expenditure for the year, as per Account I	32 8 3		
		3,488	3 4
		£35,830	7 8

Brought forward		£13,526	17 2
THE SIR GEORGE W. PROTHERO BEQUEST:—			
Investments	22,278 9 1		
Cash at Bank—Deposit Account	25 1 5		
		22,303	10 6
(Market Value of Investments at October 31, 1944, (22,076 3*s.* 6*d.*)			
		£35,830	7 8

We have examined the foregoing Income and Expenditure Account and Balance Sheet with the Books and Vouchers of the Society. We have verified the Investments appearing in the Balance Sheet. We report that the above Balance Sheet is, in our opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the affairs of the Society, according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Society.

C. RYLAND BEEBY & CO.,
Chartered Accountants, Auditors.

LONDON, UXBRIDGE AND SLOUGH.
December 1, 1944.

THE DAVID BERRY TRUST.

Income and Expenditure Account for the year ended October 31, 1944.

DR. CR.

Receipts.	£	s.	d.	*Payments.*	£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand, October 31, 1943, brought forward from last Account, viz. :—				By Printing, Stationery and Postages	2	12	0
Cash at Bank—Current Account	57	2	7	„ Advertising	30	1	6
„ „ Deposit Account	140	6	8	„ Examiners' Fees	31	10	0
„ in hand	9	0		„ Prize Money	50	0	0
£200 3% Defence Bonds (at cost)	200	0	0	„ Balance in hand, October 31, 1944, carried forward, viz. :—			
	397	18	3	„ Cash at Bank: Current Account	£93	16	9
„ Dividends on Investments per Charity Commissioners	45	10	6	„ „ Deposit Account	41	0	8
„ Interest on £200 3% Defence Bonds	6	0	0	„ in Hand	1	1	10
„ Interest on Deposit Account at Bank		14	0	£200 3% Defence Bonds (at cost)	200	0	0
					335	19	3
	£450	2	9		£450	2	9

We have examined the above account and find it correct.

C. RYLAND BEEBY & Co.,
Chartered Accountants,
Auditors.

LONDON, UXBRIDGE AND SLOUGH.
December 1, 1944.

ALEXANDER PRIZE

The Alexander Prize was established in 1897 by L. C. Alexander, F.R.Hist.S. It consists of a Silver Medal awarded annually for an essay upon some historical subject. Candidates may select their own subject provided such subject has been previously submitted to and approved by the Literary Directors. The essay must be a genuine work of original research, not hitherto published, and one which has not been awarded any other prize. It must not exceed 6,000 words in length and must be sent in on or before 28 February 1946.

LIST OF ALEXANDER PRIZE ESSAYISTS (1898–1945)[1]

1898. F. Hermia Durham (" The Relations of the Crown to Trade under James I ").

1899. W. F. Lord, B.A. (" The Development of Political Parties in the reign of Queen Anne ").

1901. Laura M. Roberts (" The Peace of Lunéville ").

1902. V. B. Redstone (" The Social Condition of England during the Wars of the Roses ").

1903. Rose Graham (" The Intellectual Influence of English Monasticism between the tenth and twelfth centuries ").

1904. Enid W. G. Routh (" The Balance of Power in the Seventeenth Century ").

1905. W. A. P. Mason, M.A. (" The Beginnings of the Cistercian Order ").

1906. Rachel R. Reid, M.A. (" The Rebellion of the Earls, 1569 ").

1908. Kate Hotblack (" The Peace of Paris, 1763 ").

1909. Nellie Nield, M.A. (" The Social and Economic Condition of the Unfree Classes in England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries ").

[1] No award was made in 1900, 1907, 1910, 1911, 1913, 1914, 1921. The prize Essays for 1909 and 1919 were not published in the *Transactions*. No Essays were submitted in 1915, 1916 and 1943.

1912. H. G. Richardson (" The Parish Clergy of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries ").
1917. Isobel D. Thornley, B.A. (" The Treason Legislation of 1531–1534 ").
1918. T. F. T. Plucknett, B.A. (" The Place of the Council in the Fifteenth Century ").
1919. Edna F. White, M.A. (" The Jurisdiction of the Privy Council under the Tudors ").
1920. J. E. Neale, M.A. (" The Commons Journals of the Tudor Period ").
1922. C. E. Martin (" The English Establishments on the Gold Coast in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century ").
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1927. W. A. Pantin, B.A. (" Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215–1540 ").
1928. Gladys A. Thornton, B.A., Ph.D. (" A Study in the History of Clare, Suffolk, with special reference to its development as a Borough ").
1929. F. S. Rodkey, A.M., Ph.D. (" Lord Palmerston's Policy for the Re-juvenation of Turkey, 1839–47 ").
1930. A. A. Ettinger, D.Phil. (" The Proposed Anglo-Franco-American Treaty of 1852 to guarantee Cuba to Spain ").
1931. Kathleen A. Walpole, M.A. (" The Humanitarian Movement of the Early Nineteenth Century to Remedy Abuses on Emigrant Vessels to America ").
1932. Dorothy M. Brodie, B.A. (" Edmund Dudley, Minister of Henry VII ").
1933. R. W. Southern, B.A. (" Ranulf Flambard and Early Anglo-Norman Administration ").
1934. S. B. Chrimes, M.A., Ph.D. (" Sir John Fortescue and his Theory of Dominion ").
1935. S. T. Bindoff, M.A. (" The Unreformed Diplomatic Service, 1812–60 ").
1936. Rosamond J. Mitchell, M.A., B.Litt. (" English Students at Padua, 1460–1475 ").
1937. C. H. Philips, B.A. (" The East India Company 'Interest,' and the English Government, 1783–4 ").
1938. H. E. I. Phillips, B.A. (" The Last Years of the Court of Star Chamber, 1630–41 ").

1939. Hilda P. Grieve, B.A. ("The Deprived Married Clergy in Essex, 1553–61").
1940. R. Somerville, M.A. ("The Duchy of Lancaster Council and Court of Duchy Chamber").
1941. R. A. L. Smith, M.A., Ph.D. ("The *Regimen Scaccarii* in English Monasteries").
1942. F. L. Carsten, D.Phil. ("Medieval Democracy in the Brandenburg Towns and its Defeat in the Fifteenth Century").
1944. Rev. E. W. Kemp, B.D. ("Pope Alexander III and the Canonization of Saints").
1945. Helen Suggett, B.Litt. ("The use of French in England in the later Middle Ages").

DAVID BERRY PRIZE

The David Berry Prize was established in 1929 by David Anderson-Berry in memory of his father, the Reverend David Berry. It consists of a Gold Medal and Money Prize awarded every three years for Scottish History. Candidates may select any subject dealing with Scottish History within the reigns of James I to James VI inclusive, provided such subject has been previously submitted to and approved by the Council of the Royal Historical Society. The Essay must be a genuine work of original research not hitherto published, and one which has not been awarded any other prize. There is no limit to the length of the Essay. It must be sent in on or before October 31, 1946.

LIST OF DAVID BERRY PRIZE ESSAYISTS (1937–1943) [1]

1937. G. Donaldson, M.A. ("The Polity of the Scottish Reformed Church *c.* 1560–1580, on the Rise of the Presbyterian Movement").
1943. Rev. Prof. A. F. Scott Pearson, D.Th., D.Litt. ("Anglo-Scottish Religious Relations, 1400–1600").

[1] No Essays were submitted in 1940.

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TRANSACTIONS.*

Old series, 1872–1882. Vols. I to X.
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MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS.

Domesday commemoration. Notes on the manuscripts, etc., exhibited at the Public Record Office. 1886. 5s. (*Out of print.*)

Domesday studies. 2 vols. Edited by P. E. Dove. 1886. 24s. (*Out of print.*)

England and Napoleon in 1803 : being the despatches of Lord Whitworth and others. Edited by Oscar Browning. 1887. 7s. 6d. (*Out of print.*)

Walter of Henley's Husbandry, together with an anonymous Husbandry, Seneschaucie, and Robert Grosseteste's Rules. Edited by Elizabeth Lamond and the Rev. W. Cunningham. 1890. 12s.

Proceedings of the Gibbon commemoration, 1794–1894. 1895. 5s.

The Domesday of Inclosures, 1517–18. Edited by I. S. Leadam. 2 vols. 1897. 30s.

A bibliography of the historical works of Mandell Creighton, William Stubbs, S. R. Gardiner and John, Lord Acton. Edited by W. A. Shaw. 1903. 5s. (*Out of print.*)

German opinion and German policy before the War. By G. W. Prothero. 1914. 4s.

Magna Carta commemoration essays. With preface by the Right Hon. Viscount Bryce. Edited by H. E. Malden. 1917. 25s.

* A repertory of British archives. Part I. England. Compiled by Hubert Hall. 1920. 10s. 6d.

A list and index of the Transactions and publications of the Royal Historical Society (1869–1924) and of the publications of the Camden Society (1840–1897). Edited by Hubert Hall. 1925. 5s.

The *Domesday monachorum* of Christ Church, Canterbury. 1944. 30s. (7s. 6d. to Fellows, Associates and subscribing libraries.)

BIBLIOGRAPHIES ISSUED IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Bibliography of British history : Tudor period, 1485–1603. Edited by Conyers Read. 1933. Oxford Univ. Press, 30s. (Special price, 20s. 9d.)

Bibliography of British history : Stuart period, 1603–1714. Edited by Godfrey Davies. 1928. Oxford Univ. Press, 21s. (Special price, 16s. 6d.)

Bibliography of British history : 1715–1789. Edited by D. J. Medley and S. M. Pargellis. (*In preparation.*)

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES.

Writings on British history, 1934. Compiled by A. T. Milne. 1937. London, Jonathan Cape, 12s. 6d. (Special price, 10s.)

Writings on British history, 1935. Compiled by A. T. Milne. 1939. London, Jonathan Cape, 12s. 6d. (Special price, 10s.)

Writings on British history, 1936. Compiled by A. T. Milne. 1940. London, Jonathan Cape. 12s. 6d. (Special price, 10s.)

Writings on British history, 1937. Compiled by A. T. Milne. London. Jonathan Cape. (*In preparation.*)

GUIDES AND HANDBOOKS.

1. Guide to English commercial statistics, 1696–1782. By G. N. Clark, with a catalogue of materials by Barbara M. Franks. 1938. 7s. 6d.
2. Handbook of British chronology. Edited by F. M. Powicke, with the assistance of Charles Johnson and W. J. Harte. 1939. 7s. 6d. (*Out of print.*)
3. Medieval libraries of Great Britain, an index of surviving books. Edited by N. R. Ker. 1941. 7s. 6d. (*Out of print.*) [1945. 6s.
4. Handbook of dates for students of English history. By C. R. Cheney.

Provisionally accepted for future publication:

Handbook of British currency. Edited by A. E. Feavearyear.
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Bibliography of medieval cartularies. Edited by W. A. Pantin.
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PUBLICATIONS OF THE LATE CAMDEN SOCIETY, CONTINUED (FROM 1897) AS THE CAMDEN SERIES OF THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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THIRD SERIES.†

58. Early charters of the cathedral church of St. Paul, London. Edited by Marion Gibbs. 1939.
59. The formation of Canning's ministry, February to August 1827. Edited by A. Aspinall. 1938.
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65. Correspondence of Charles Arbuthnot. Edited by A. Aspinall, 1941.
66. Ministers' accounts of the earldom of Cornwall, 1296–1297. Vol. I. Edited by L. Margaret Midgley, 1942.
67. The notebook of John Penry, 1593. Edited by Albert Peel, 1944.
68. Ministers' accounts of the earldom of Cornwall, 1296–1297. Vol. II. Edited by L. Margaret Midgley, 1945. (*See* no. 66.)
69. The letter-book of John Viscount Mordaunt, 1658–1660. Edited by Mary Coate, 1945.

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British diplomatic representatives, 1509–1688. (*See* nos. 46 and 50.)

The chronicle of Walter of Hemingburgh. Edited by H. Rothwell.

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